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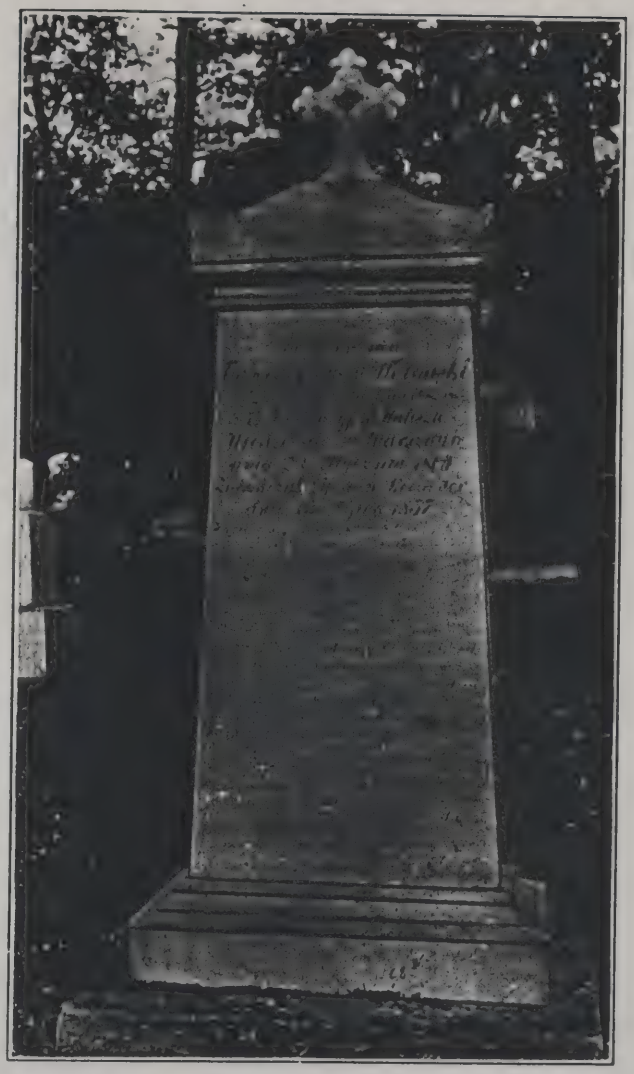
History

of the

POLISH PEOPLE IN ROCHESTER

Norman T. Lyon

PUBLISHED 1935



THE TOMBSTONE OF FRANCIS SALEZY WOLOWSKI WHICH MARKS HIS GRAVE IN THE OLD MASONIC LOT OF VALLEY LODGE, MOUNT HOPE CEMETERY. UPON THE FRONT OF THE MONUMENT IS ENGRAVED THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION, ALMOST ILLEGIBLE WITH AGE, A PARTIAL TRANSLATION OF WHICH APPEARS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ON ITS REVERSE SIDE: "*Tu Spoczywa FRANCISZEK SALEZY WOLOWSKI, Sędzia Trybunału Cywilnego 1-ej Instancyj w Kaliszu; Urodził się w Warszawie dnia 29 Stycznia 1805; Zakończył Życie w Rochester dnia 12 Lipca 1857. Ten Pomnik podarowany mu jest jako datek wdzięczności syna opłakującego Stratę tak przedwczesną najlepszego Ojca. Módlcie się za niego gdyż nietylko Że posiadał najlepsze Serce ale i odznaczył się najzaszczytniejszemi Czynami tak własnej Ojczyźnie jako i w odległych krańcach Ameryki. Pozostawił Żonę i liczną Familję, tudzież tych co mieli szczęście poznania Go bliżej w Najgłębszej rozpaczy. I za co będzie Wam wdzięczny Dozgonnie Opłakujący Ojca. Syn Zygmunt Wołowski.*"

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"To persons at a distance, or to a succeeding generation, circumstances that seem trifling to us from their familiarity, may acquire a lively interest."

Directory of the Village of Rochester, 1827.

FOREWORD

This volume seeks to accomplish a twofold purpose. The life and affairs of the immigrant group which it concerns have been treated more as integral steps in a process than as a series of episodic events chronologically arranged. Thus, for the American or non-Polish reader, it is intended to clarify the significance of local events in their relation to Polish-American development generally, and for the Polish-American reader, to demonstrate the growth and fruition of the Polish cause in this country as exemplified in a typical community.

This method of handling the subject seems to be necessary because of the somewhat unique character of the Pole as an immigrant in the United States. While it is true that all the ordinary factors leading to immigration in general no doubt operated in more or less degree to bring about our present Polish strain, one factor also operated in the case of this nationality alone. From 1795, virtually until 1920, the Pole was a natural prototype of the "man without a country". An extraordinary national spirit, the tenacious survival of which eventually resulted in the restoration of Poland to the map of Europe, drove thousands of Poles from their native soil in a persistent quest for a political atmosphere in which the future rebirth of their nation might be tangibly provided for. In a sense, therefore, the Pole in coming to America may be said to have been seeking, and not escaping from, Poland.

The discordant note which might be expected to have proceeded from this state of affairs has never arisen, probably because the long lapse of time since the last partition, with its consequent submergence of the factional rivalry to which the partitions themselves were in part due, has lent an ideal character to the Polish nationalist motive and has brought it into sympathetic harmony with the American ideals of liberty and patriotism.

The continuous advance of the nationalist movement working at all times through scattered communities of Poles all over the United States, has in a pronounced degree determined the various histories of such communities, a circumstance which would render the story of

our local group unintelligible to the non-Polish reader without an adequate consideration of the nationalist background against which specific events have materialized.

Moreover, the ever changing and always decentralized development of this nationalist movement sometimes made it difficult for Polish leaders themselves to understand how certain momentous results were brought about. It is hoped that the recorded picture of these forces at work in a typical community where surrounding civic conditions were admirably adapted to their expression, may prove interesting and instructive to the Polish-American reader.

For aid in the successful solution of many research problems encountered during the progress of this work, the author is deeply indebted to numerous persons and agencies, and regrets that limited space does not permit personal mention of more than a few of these. The author is especially grateful for the untiring assistance and understanding of Mr. and Mrs. Edmund F. Lorentz, and Mr. Stanley K. Kowalski. Rev. Stanislaus J. Szupa and Mr. John Janczewski were of material help in searching old community records found among the parish archives of St. Stanislaus, many of which were in Latin. Grateful recognition is accorded the late Rev. Ignatius J. Klejna, former St. Stanislaus rector for his services in reading portions of the uncompleted volume relating to events occurring during his pastorate. Acknowledgment also is due Adam Felerski, attorney, for his personal advice and information supplied from his extensive library of clippings pertaining to local Polish affairs.

The author has much appreciated the cooperation received from Mr. Edward R. Foreman, Rochester City Historian, the Rochester Public Library, Reynolds Library, and all local newspaper offices which have freely rendered accessible many valuable and interesting documents.

A major portion of the detailed routine labor necessary to the publication of the book has been enthusiastically performed by volunteer workers, to whom thanks is due. Public acknowledgment should be made in this connection to Miss Stefania Dobrochowska, Mr. Julian Wojcik, and Miss Jenat Kozlowska.

THE AUTHOR.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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The following signatories to a certificate endorsing the belief that the History of the Polish People in Rochester will prove a valuable contribution to the archives of this city and, expressing thereby their appreciation of the patriotic and civic ideals manifested by the citizens of Polish extraction, have lent their influence and co-operated financially in the publication of this volume. The original of this certificate is preserved in a cache with other historical documents in the back of General Pulaski Plaque, in the city branch library at Corner Hudson Avenue and Norton Street:

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Zielinski, William S., LL.B.

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*Died May 10, 1935.

PART I

dom from religious persecution, to place himself upon firmer economic ground, to think and express his thoughts in a more congenial political environment. For the most part his hopes have been realized, and this fact also, has imparted the attribute of health to the growth of his communities.

Thus it may be said that the natural endowments of the American city, together with the confident outlook of the immigrant, have prevented foreign groups from becoming mere stagnant pools of unassimilated aliens, and have made them vital, living tributaries in the current of American civic life.

In considering the early origins of Polish groups of this nature, the problem of identification immediately arises, for the Slav has appeared unexpectedly in remote corners of the world from earliest times, and it is always difficult to determine to which of several Slavic branches he belongs. The science of ethnography, in fact, is still vague concerning the anthropological source of his race, and his tempestuous history, replete with foreign invasion and military colonization, clouds the racial boundaries of his various divisions even down to the present day. Particularly is this true respecting the Poles, because of the periodic domination of the Polish state by neighboring powers, and the complete lapse of Polish political existence for over one hundred years prior to the World War. Indeed, the strong national spirit brought about by this age-long persecution is in itself the chief unifying influence to which the diverse racial groups of Poland have responded, and its presence in the individual, wherever it has had the opportunity to become manifest, is a surer index to his Polish nationality than the roots of his family

tree. It is therefore difficult categorically to assert the positive Polish nationality of individuals or groups, where nothing concerning them is available save the dubious statistics compiled by alien agencies. On the other hand. it is a fact that the Poles consistently have been the most numerous of the Slavic immigrants to the United States, and, in the absence of express proof to the contrary, any Slavic group appearing in early records may be presumed to contain a goodly sprinkling of Poles.

There appear to be three overlapping stages in the emigration of Poles to this country. The first arrivals were principally nobles and military exiles, whose patriotic enterprises in their native land had been unsuccessful and who were obliged for political reasons to leave the country. Kosciuszko and Pulaski, immortal for their sacrifices in the cause of American liberty as well as Polish, are famous examples of this class, though by no means the only members of it. The second stage represents the artisan class and to some extent is supplemented by the wealthier peasants, chiefly from German Poland, where economic conditions were somewhat more favorable, and a small capital was more easily accumulated. The third stage is predominantly a peasant and refugee movement, arising out of the Polish revolution of 1863 and the subsequent political indignities practised upon the Polish people by ruling governments. (1)

German Poland gave the United States its first substantial influx of Polish people. Following the third partition in 1795 Prussia's policy with respect to Poland

(1) These three migratory movements are much confused with each other and the records of immigration offer meager aid in clearing the confusion, but it is thought that a close study of the available facts and comparison of them with conditions in Poland during the nineteenth century will warrant the generalization.

An interesting mental picture may be evolved from a consideration of certain events in the early history of Rochester in their chronological relation to the course of European affairs respecting Poland.

The year 1788, in which Indian Allan, our picturesque forerunner, was presented by Oliver Phelps with the Hundred Acre Tract, in which to build the first mill at the Genesee Falls, Poland was still seething with the political unrest aroused by the first partition. Catherine the Great, now an old woman, had still eight remaining years in which to dream of Russian conquest, and was not to die until she had brought about the complete dismemberment of Poland as a national state. In 1792 while William Hincher was gaining a rugged livelihood for his lonely family in the first white man's hut at the mouth of the Genesee River, Frederick William II of Prussia was considering with his ministers the second partition of Poland. This partition and the third (1795) took place while Rochester was scarcely more than a swampy woodland. In the same year (1812) in which the first bridge was completed over the Genesee Falls, and when the inhabitants of the little settlement were fearfully expecting a British invasion from Canadian shores, Napoleon Bonaparte was recruiting seventy thousand Poles for his ill-fated campaign against Russia, with dubious promises of freedom for Poland, which were never fulfilled. It was in 1818, the year in which Nathaniel Rochester brought his family from Dansville to settle in their new home in Rochesterville at the corner of Exchange and Spring Streets, that Alexander I of Russia, in a half-hearted attempt to placate his Polish domains, convoked a Polish Diet in person, promising great reforms which were

cruelly frustrated by the reactionary Constantine, whom the Czar, politically more generous than shrewd, had appointed to the command of Warsaw.

Geographically remote as these isolated instances may be, they possess, nevertheless, a certain subtle significance. While the little village on the banks of the Genesee was laying in the wilderness the foundations of a great city that was to be, the forces of destiny at work across the Atlantic were producing a state of affairs which in time to come would plant within our city limits the seed of our present flourishing Polish community.

There are indications that Slavic influence entered this community very early in its history, and since, as has been said, the Poles have always provided America with its largest contingent of Slavic immigrants, it is probable that some of this influence was Polish. Bethalick, a name appearing in the first directory for the village of Rochester (1827), is strongly suggestive of Slavic derivation and Bartholick, a variation of the same root, appears in the 1834 and a number of subsequent directories. Retan, another name encountered in the 1834 directory, reveals a Slavic origin. The directory for 1838 contains Papin and Podesta, both names which indicate the presence of a Slavic strain. As against one such name in 1827 and two in 1834, there are no less than sixteen in 1849 (3), from which it is apparent that this Slavic influence was augmenting in fair proportion to the contemporary growth of the city. Furthermore, an inclination toward more definite Slavic spelling is observed in these

(3) City directories at this time were not issued from year to year or even at regular intervals, and from 1827 through 1849 only six directories of Rochester were published.

later names, in a few instances leaving little doubt of Polish or near-Polish origin.

The intelligent analysis of these sources is greatly complicated by the wholesale misspelling of Slavic names in early records. The wide gap which exists between the inflexible letter combinations of the English tongue and the sibilant phonetics of the Slavic has inspired the continuous attempt on both sides to reach a common level in the matter of spelling, resulting, for the most part, in baffling confusion.

Rev. George Beranek

However, the presence of Slavic influence is not to be assumed entirely from a reference to the uncertain annals of early directories. Rev. Peter Czackert, associated with Father Prost at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church in 1838, was undoubtedly a Slav, and Rev. Anthony Urbanczik, who followed his calling at the same church from 1847 to 1849, was probably a Pole. It is highly probable that Rev. George Beranek, of St. Joseph's (1848-50) was Polish, although his later affiliation in the city of Baltimore was with a Bohemian church. Father Beranek was much esteemed among his parishioners and performed valuable services in promoting the erection of the building which, with

later improvements and additions, still houses the veteran Church of St. Joseph. It is significant, in this connection, that most of the names presumed to be of Slavic derivation encountered in these early directories appear to be those of persons who lived in the vicinity of and doubtless attended St. Joseph's Church. From these indications it is natural to suppose that they constituted the beginnings of a Slavic community and it is not unlikely that the presence of Slavic priests expressed in some measure the Church's desire to draw this tiny racial nucleus into its fold.

That early Rochester was vitally aware of Polish affairs cannot be doubted. The "amnesty ukase" promulgated by Nicholas I of Russia concerning Polish political exiles in Siberia aroused a curiously vitriolic comment appearing in the Rochester Republican for December 5th, 1837, and the narrative of the Count and Countess Podotski (Potocki), typically Slavic, was reprinted in full, from some unmentioned source, in the Daily Democrat for March 8th of the same year. The Canadian Rebellion of 1837, an uprising which occasioned considerable excitement in Rochester, brought into prominence the names of at least two Poles, who fought on opposite sides in that brief but stirring revolution. ". . . . The Globenski Corps proved a very efficient body" in the battle of St. Eustache, according to Captain Beauclerk, of the victorious Loyalist army, referring to a corps of men trained and employed under the leadership of the patriot Globenski, and the Canadian career of Colonel "Niles Gustaf Schobtewski (4) Von Schoultz" was one in which Rochester took active interest.

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(4) A Germanic misspelling of the Polish name Szeptycki; the name of a well known family of Polish noblemen of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, to which Col. Von Schoultz may have belonged.

Colonel Von Schoultz (variously spelled Schultz, Shultz, etc.) was "a Polish refugee, of a noble family, having commanded a regiment in the Polish Revolution," (5) and had allied himself with the Canadian revolutionary army. His military operations were largely in the vicinity of Lake Ontario and a number of accounts respecting him appear in contemporary Rochester newspapers. It is thought that Colonel Von Schoultz visited Rochester sometime late in the year 1837, shortly before the disastrous "Battle of the Windmill" in which he was captured by the British army, and although it is impossible apparently to verify this belief, there is no doubt of the interest displayed by Rochester in his affairs. His capture, court martial and eventual execution became the subject of an interesting article, published in the Daily Democrat for December 24, 1838. In fact, the feeling of sympathetic admiration for this unfortunate patriot seems to have been genuine and universal. D. B. Read, the historian of the rebellion says of him, "Von Schultz (6) was a brave and generous man; he was a victim of more designing men who led him to the course which brought him to the gallows." (7)

Some of the sixteen names thought to be of Slavic origin in the directory for 1849 must have been those of persons or families to whom Father Beranek ministered during his brief sojourn in this city. Even though Amaracka, Brabyn, Malachowsky, Raback, may not represent individuals whose birth or immediate ancestry

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(5) ROCHESTER DAILY DEMOCRAT, December 24, 1838.
(6) So in original.
(7) D. B. Read: THE REBELLION OF 1837. (Pub. 1896).

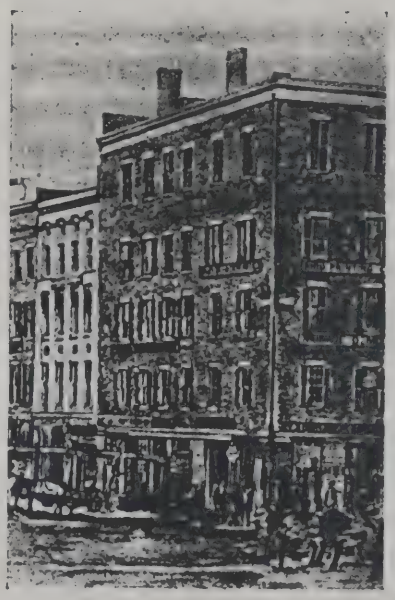
was native to eastern Europe, yet the conclusion is irresistible that the possessors of these names were of Slavic extraction sufficiently recent to possess them, and sufficiently stamped with a Slavic cultural identity to have refrained from discarding them.

It is interesting to peruse the occupations in which these early Slavs engaged, according to the directories in which their names appear, although few reliable conclusions may be drawn from such a study. For most of the Slavic or Polish names, the occupations are largely of the humbler variety in older records. A number are listed merely as laborers, while in several cases there are indications of skilled labor, i. e., joiner, carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, stone cutter, cabinet maker, etc. Without exception, the unmarried women appear as domestic servants. This, however, is doubtless due to the custom which then prevailed, of omitting from census records the names of all women except widows and those engaged independently in gainful occupations, virtually the only one of which open to the female sex at that time in a small community being that of domestic servant.

In later directories there appear the names of a few Slavs whose occupations are of more genteel and in some cases professional character. John H. Kollatchny [8] is listed as a law student in 1859. A furrier, Alexander Kolowski, evidently found Rochester a profitable home for six successive years for his name, bizarrely garbled by the census takers with a kind of malignant persistence, managed to survive the ravages of several directories in recognizable form. The year 1867 brought to the city

(8) Anglo-Saxon misspelling of the Polish name Kolaczny.

a painter of miniatures, who is oddly listed as Count John DeBeerski, a name difficult to classify as to nationality but of course possessing an unmistakably Polish ending.



BUILDING AT NORTHEAST CORNER OF MAIN AND STATE STREETS, IN WHICH VALLEY LODGE MET DURING THE YEARS 1855-57.

Mention here should be made of the Honorable Francis Salezy Wolowski, whose weather beaten tombstone in Mount Hope Cemetery entitles him "Judge of the Supreme Court of the 1st instance of the Kingdom of Poland," and who resided in the city of Rochester for two years (1855-57), earning his livelihood and that of his wife by conducting classes in the "French and other languages" at the corner of East Avenue and William Street. Judge Wolowski, according to the newspaper account of his death, came to America as an exile in 1855 and settled in Rochester, becoming a member of Valley Lodge of Masons, the oldest Masonic body in this city, under the auspices of which his funeral services were conducted. The meager information to be gleaned from his monument and the death notice already referred to shows that, having been born in Warsaw (1805), he had received a broad cultural and professional education in his native

land, rising to high judicial office in the so-called "Kingdom of Poland", a territory in Russian Poland containing the city of Warsaw, and governed by the brother of the Czar as titular sovereign. The reasons for his exile, whether official or otherwise, are shrouded in mystery so far as local records are concerned, but the gradually more oppressive discriminations which continued to be imposed upon the learned professions after the 1830 outbreak very probably explain the presence of Judge Wolowski in the United States. Following his death, his widow, as Mrs. F. S. Wolowski, continued teaching her husband's pupils for one year, disappearing from the records after 1857. (9)

For eight successive years (1863-1871) Rochester directories contain the strongly Polish name of Vincent A. Horjesky, at first designated "domestic missionary" and later, without exception, a clergyman. Exhaustive inquiry has failed to yield facts upon which a satisfactory account of this man may be based. During the years in which the Rev. Horjesky resided in Rochester, he appears to have made his home on Weld Street, and his business dealings with another of the same profession, traceable in the real property records of the Monroe County Clerk's office, suggest Presbyterian affiliations. No official connection with any Rochester church can be established, however. His name, therefore, unmistakably of Polish derivation, and supported by no biographical or personal

(9) It is stated in the inscription upon the tombstone of Judge Wolowski that the stone was erected by a son, and a "numerous family" is referred to; however, the Rochester directories for 1855-57 include no persons of this name save Judge Wolowski and his widow, and the account of his death in the newspaper mentions the widow as having "no relative in this country". It is probable, therefore, that no other members of the family took up permanent residence in Rochester at any time.

information, remains but an interesting and mysterious curiosity.

A lack of complete personnel records in the archives of the Civil War makes it impossible to state with certainty the extent to which Rochester Slavs participated actively in that struggle. Of two, however, there seems no doubt. William Smala and Theodore Czarnowski enlisted from Rochester in the 18th New York Battery, participating with this light artillery unit in the battle of Mobile and the stirring victory at Port Hudson, Louisiana. Czarnowski was eighteen years of age when he enlisted, had "light hair" and "blue eyes", and gave his birthplace as "Prussia", according to the sketchy statistics of the United States War Department, intriguing but aggravating in their curt brevity. It is possible that others joined the Polish Legion organized in New York City under the leadership of Colonel Krzyzanowski, to which Slavs from widely scattered sections of the country were attracted.

It is noticeable that over a period of years following the Civil War our Polish residents appear more to be associated with German groups, and names seem to take on a Teutonic caste, a circumstance which has an interesting explanation. As the city began to assume a pronounced industrial character, the Pole came more actively to realize the limitations of his nationality and name in the all important business of obtaining employment. Conservative employers were suspicious of men born under German, Austrian or Russian flags who persisted in proclaiming allegiance to a country politically and territorially dead, and regarded this procedure as arising from a dangerously revolutionary point of view.

Foremen and those whose duty it was to make personal contacts with prospective employees were impatient with names unfamiliar and difficult to spell. Therefore the Pole, who in Rochester was more than likely to be from Posen or vicinity, adopted the simple but very necessary expedient of assuming a German name, posing as a German, and freely using the German language, in which he was thoroughly adept. It is impossible, of course, to know how extensively this subterfuge was used, but it undoubtedly explains in a large part the difficulty in tracing the scattered Polish residents of a growing industrial city whose foreign population at the time was markedly German. (10)

In rare instances it will be found that a name, undeniably Polish and derived from a remote Polish ancestor, has survived several generations of alien nationality. An example of this survival is found in the late Professor Alexander Trzeciak, for many years a teacher of foreign languages in the Rochester Free Academy. Professor Trzeciak, a native of Berlin, came of an old German family and of course regarded himself altogether as a German, which in fact he was; yet his name is in no sense Teutonic, being not only of Slavic caste, but definitely Polish. In the light of the ready and widespread alteration of inconvenient names which is usually met with, there can be little doubt that these notable exceptions to the general rule indicate the presence of family pride or some equally positive factor powerful enough through the years to have transcended all considerations of momentary advantage or expediency.

(10) A number of our older Polish residents alive today employed this device during the period to which reference is made and have related to the author many interesting stories in this connection.

Socially, indeed, the few Poles mingled on agreeable terms with their German neighbors, a situation to which the presence of several such families in Rochester may have contributed, but as Poles, no opportunity existed for common association, other than such functions, possibly, as the joint concert of Anton Rubinstein and Henry Wieniawski in 1872, where, it may safely be assumed, the audience contained as many Polish families as were within convenient traveling radius of Rochester.

Early in March of the year 1876, along the old railroad which then skirted the shores of Lake Ontario, there passed a certain train which justifies a brief digression at this point, for at one of its windows, gazing reflectively over the marshy landscape of western New York, sat Henry Sienkiewicz. A young man, writing for his newspaper in Poland, he had just undertaken the long American journey which was later to be recorded in his "Letters of Travel". Unfortunately, he made no stop in the city proper, and seems chiefly to have been impressed by the extraordinary swampiness of the spring season. "Fields were flooded, and wooded tracts, often of great extent, appeared to be growing out of a huge lake." The immensity of Lake Ontario reminded him strongly of the ocean, and his brief but rich description of the "rough huts of fishermen, whose boats tugged at their moorings a few feet from the cottage doors", before which "hung nets, still wet and glistening" over "heaps of water weeds and the pungent debris of fishermen", paints a picture still familiar along the ponds and bays just west of Rochester. As few as are the words allotted to this locality by the distinguished traveler, hastily journeying westward

to the Pacific, there is a peculiar thrill in the thought that they were penned by the same hand which inscribed the Trilogy and "Quo Vadis" immortally upon the pages of time.

Indeed, had Sienkiewicz alighted from the train and sought to find his countrymen in the city of Rochester, the search might well have been a tedious one, for from causes already mentioned, the few Poles were more than ever scattered about the community, living somewhat incognito as isolated individuals within other racial groups. The tendency to follow places of employment at first explains most of this disorganization and social and religious affiliations resulting from this tendency had now in many cases become so fixed as to constitute causes in themselves. St. Joseph's parish still had Slavs within its fold, and St. Michael's, having originated through the labors of a priest connected with St. Joseph's, possessed a Slavic group, more probably Polish. A few Polish families had become associated with St. Bridget's Church and still another group of Germanic Poles from the vicinity of Pomerania attended St. Boniface Church, some of whose descendants are still members of that parish. These developments, coupled as they were with the expedient modification of surnames, spell a trend toward gradual disunity, involuntary but nevertheless real, which, however, had not progressed far enough as yet to obliterate unmistakable units of Polish nationality, later to be drawn together in response to new stimuli arising from without as well as from within.

The movement toward closer organization of Polish groups in the United States became fairly general during the late seventies and eighties and resulted largely from

the disastrous Polish-Russian revolution of 1863. Following the crushing defeat of this uprising, the unbearable conditions imposed upon the native Pole by ruling powers sent him wholesale to the United States. This immigrant, a penniless refugee in most cases, was not so much seeking voluntarily the boon of American freedom as frantically escaping a painful and intolerable bondage. His resentment of Poland's miserable plight was born of acute despair and his active determination to play a part in her restoration was a fierce, unquenchable flame surviving death itself, to burn anew in his American-born descendants. Thus his type, as well as the numbers in which he arrived, furnished a powerful impetus toward greater cohesion among Poles in America.

On February 29, 1880, the convention met in the city of Philadelphia out of which grew the Polish National Alliance, an organization of American Poles dedicated to the preservation of native culture and looking to the possible future opportunity of rising to the assistance of Poland. As this society did not immediately spread its strong arm into the tiny Polish community of Rochester, further discussion of the subject is relegated to its proper chronological place. It is mentioned here as demonstrating the spirit of organization which, during these two decades (1870-1890), rolled like a psychological tidal wave over the scattered Polish groups in this country.

This spirit of organization, penetrating the small Rochester group of Poles, met with already existing local factors favorable to its success, chief among which was the presence of Rev. Fridolm Pascalar as rector of St. Michael's Roman Catholic Church. Heretofore the visits

Rev. Fridolm Pascalar

to Rochester of Father Klawiter and Father Zareczny of Buffalo for the purpose of hearing confessions had afforded the only opportunity for contact with a priest of Polish sympathies. Since assuming the rectorship of St. Michael's in November, 1873, however, Father Pascalar had maintained a friendly and sympathetic interest in the Polish members of his parish, and his far-seeing and intelligent understanding of their problems and aspirations had led him to encourage the ultimate creation of a new parish devoted primarily to the interest of Polish communicants.

Spurred by the sympathetic enthusiasm of this priest, the Poles at last emerged from the various racial groups with which heretofore they had been identified and became a unit as the Society of St. Casimir. The exact place and time at which this memorable society came into existence is somewhat involved in confusion. There are strong indications that it had existed among Poles in St. Joseph's Church prior to Father Pascalar's championship of the Polish cause in St. Michael's, and some of its first members are known to have been associated with St. Joseph's parish in the early '80s. However that may be,

old records reliably show either the organization of this group or its open proclamation at St. Michael's Church on May 16th, 1887.

A certain degree of confusion likewise exists respecting the original membership of this society. There is no doubt, however, that Adam Winiewski was its leader, and a few names, haphazardly preserved in old church records, are beyond question. These include Albert Brumka, whose widow died recently in this city, and two of the Cachman brothers, Michal (who later adopted the surname "Kowalski") and another whose Christian name does not appear, but may have been Alexander or Charles. (11) Joseph Ciechanowski and Konstanty Cyterski, also among the charter members on this list, were active and are well remembered by the older Polish residents of the community. Jacob Kucak, another on the list, was the father of Stanislaus Kucak, one of Rochester's first Polish dairymen. Wojciech Kwiatonski, also listed, lived practically all his life in Rochester; his son Andrew with Joseph Kaczmarek, the son of Wojciech Kaczmarek, another original member, were the first altar boys of old St. Stanislaus Church. The name of Walenty Kwiatkonski is included, as is that of Stephen Kwiatkowski, who still lives in the Polish community. (12) Matthew Pacek, it so happens, became the first Rochester Pole ever to serve

(11) This family appears in early Rochester directories as "Zachman", with the exception of Michal, who became "Kowalski"; an interesting example of the manner in which Germanic names previously assumed were frequently discarded by Poles after their purposes had been served.

(12) The names Kwiatonski, Kwiatkonski and Kwiatkowski will exhibit to the non-Slavic reader a mystifying coincidence of spelling, from which, however, no personal relationship or connection is to be inferred; analogous similarities in the English language (Richards, Richardson, Earl, Earls) ordinarily carry the variation at the end of the name, whereas in Polish it is more apt to occur immediately ahead of the characteristic prepositional ending.

on a Monroe County grand jury. Walenty Paprocki, now deceased, was long active in local Polish affairs and Rochester is still the home of his widow and family. Wantka, another of the original few, appears in the record without a Christian name. The brothers Joseph and Walenty Wejt are still living but have removed from the city.

Kaczmarek, Kwiatkowski, the Wejt brothers and Peter Bartylak seem to be the only present survivors among charter members, and assertion which, however, cannot be made without qualification. The uncertainty regarding the actual date of organization disorders the existing records and befogs the memories of the few persons still living who had a part in the activities of the society forty-six years ago. Developments of a controversial nature which took place in the community at a later date, and in which this society was involved collaterally, also may affect the value of certain records prepared during the interval of strife. The older residents today seem inclined to assume that all of the thirty odd Polish families then living about Rochester had male representatives in St. Casimir's Society, but careful inquiry has shown this to be an unwarranted assumption.

Notwithstanding who may or may not have enjoyed acknowledged membership in St. Casimir's Society, it is the fact that virtually all Poles in Rochester quickly rallied to its support and sought to become associated with its avowed object, the establishment of a Roman Catholic parish and church building for Poles. With the tireless assistance of Father Pascalar, whose influence went so far as to bring about loans of money to the new society, a fund

was raised, sufficiently large to warrant presenting its plans to the Rochester See. Here again, Father Pascalar acted as friendly intermediary, and obtained for the project the sanction of Rt. Rev. Bernard McQuaid, then Bishop of Rochester, who agreed to provide a Polish priest. Meetings of St. Casimir's society were held on Sunday afternoons, with the permission of Father Pascalar, in the old church building, which still exists as the St. Michael parish hall. Here it was that money was contributed, plans made and the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka born.

Attendant upon the accumulation of the necessary amount, and the purchase of a building site, a difference of opinion arose which, while of no importance in itself, was finally resolved in a manner showing that the Polish group had already begun to feel itself the independent basis of a future community. Certain influences in the parish of St. Michael which had regarded with favor the objects for which the St. Casimir Society was organized, and had rendered material aid to the furtherance of those objects, sought, very naturally, and in a spirit of well meant assistance, to select a site for the erection of the proposed new church building. Equally natural and well meant, however, was the determination of the Poles to decide for themselves the location of the building. The final adjustment of this small difference in favor of the site selected by St. Casimir's Society is important in that it determined the central geographical spot from which the present Polish community grew up, with the consequent physical expansion and economic development of the city in that quarter.

The site finally selected, at the corner of Hudson Avenue and Norton Street, building proceeded apace, and on the 16th day of November, 1890, the new church was consecrated in a colorful ritual presided over by Bishop McQuaid and the dream of St. Casimir's Society and Father Pascalar became a reality. At the dedication service High Mass was conducted by Bishop McQuaid and a stirring sermon was presented by Rev. John Pitas, a Polish priest who came from Buffalo for the occasion. On the same day, as a fitting climax to the event, Rev. Theophilus Szadzinski received at the hands of the Bishop the appointment as rector of the new church.

Rev. Theophilus Szadzinski

Father Szadzinski, but thirty-three years of age at this time, was a native of Pleszew, Poland, whose secular education had been received in his native land (Ostrowo) and who had prepared as a priest at the American College of Louvain, Belgium. As a deacon, he had come to this country on August 7, 1890, and three days later had preached a sermon in the Polish language at St. Michael's Church of this city, reputed to be the first Polish sermon ever given in Rochester. His ordination by Bishop McQuaid had taken place on September 8th,

only a brief sixty-nine days prior to his assumption of the St. Stanislaus parish. His assignment to this post, therefore, was highly appropriate and his death on August 27th, 1909, a few days following the formal dedication of the second St. Stanislaus edifice, erected largely by his efforts, brought to its mortal close an enviable career of service devoted exclusively to his beloved parish of St. Stanislaus.

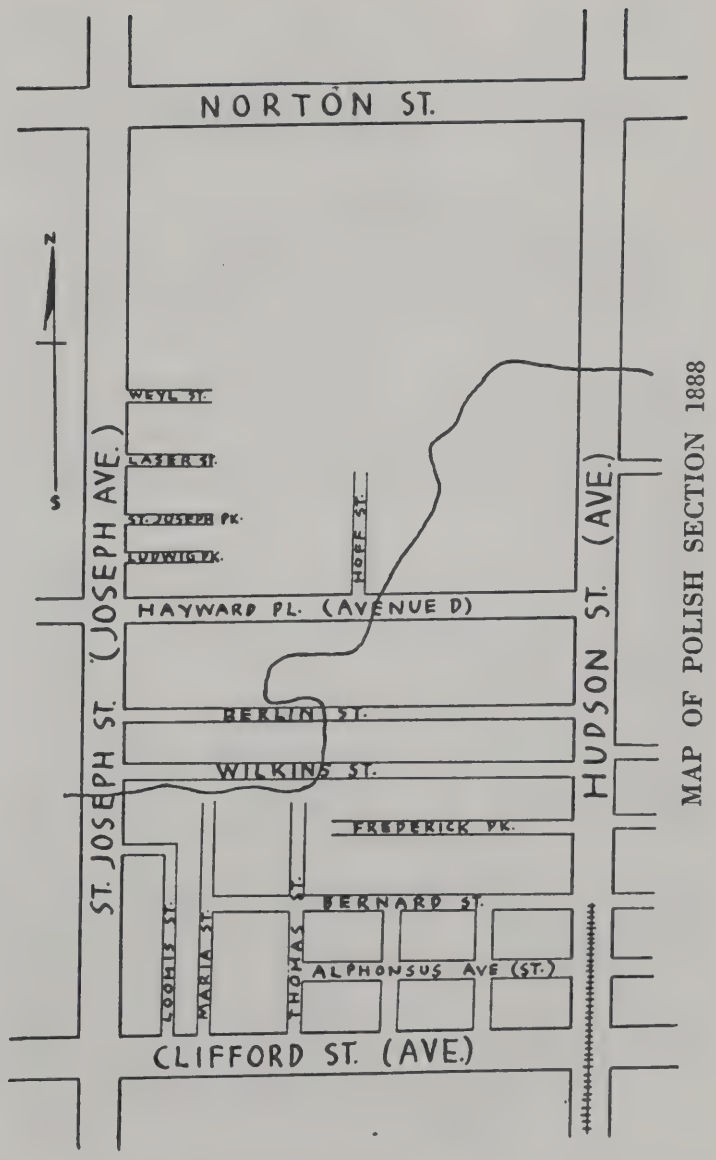
Interesting stories are still told of the high excitement that prevailed during the construction of the old church and of the purchase of lots in its vicinity by those who welcomed the opportunity to plant in the fields about Norton Street (at that time the northern city line) a neighborhood of Poles; of the vote taken by the small congregation to name the new church; of the St. Stanislaus society then formed and of the Uhlans of St. Michael, organized under the leadership of Stephen Zielinski, still a prominent Polish citizen of Rochester, who marched with his compatriots, in the impressive uniform of the Polish Uhlans, through the mud of Hudson Avenue.

The launching of St. Stanislaus Church may be said to establish Rochester Poles for the first time in a definite section of the city, and to localize later Polish arrivals about an acknowledged center of culture. The creation of a Polish parish brought widely separated groups of families together and fused them into a living community. It offered to them the opportunity of common religious worship, and the benefit of spiritual guidance brought to them in their own language. It afforded to them the necessary incentive for congenial social life and a focal point about which to develop it. In the realm of the

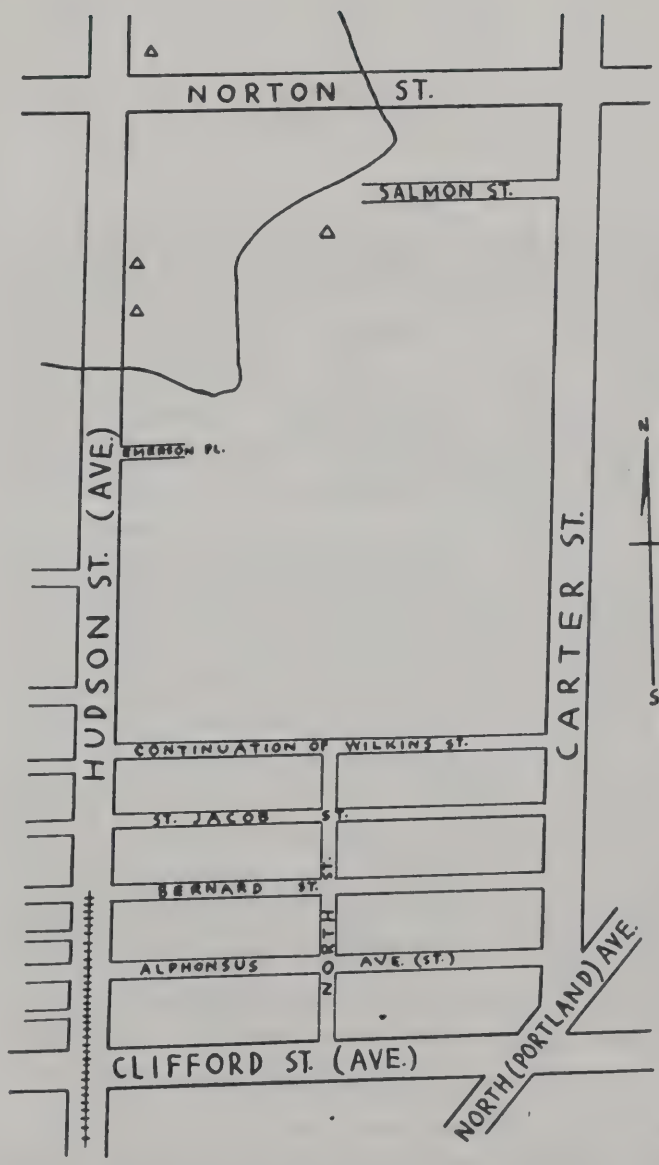
purely material, it opened to them a generous expanse of hitherto undeveloped real estate in a corner of the city ripe for development and relatively free from impending encroachment.

For these reasons it may safely be said that the persons and agencies responsible for the successful foundation of St. Stanislaus Church, while by no means the first Poles in this City or vicinity, partake strongly of the character of pioneers in the creation of the present community. The seed was now rooted, as later developments have shown, in fertile soil, and the principle of community consciousness born. Passing years were to see this consciousness unfold in the warmth of common association, to see it tested in the whirlpool of internal dissension, and at last finely tempered in the fiery crucible of war.

PART II



Map copied from Lathrop Plat Book (1888), showing the territory from Hudson Avenue westward to Joseph Avenue, which became the Polish quarter. The freehand line indicates the course of a creek, no longer in existence.



MAP OF POLISH SECTION 1888

The same, from Hudson Avenue eastward to Carter Street. The creek is continued and the small triangles indicate the location of open wells. Two other wells were used, which however, were not within the boundaries embraced by the above sketch.

PART II

IN the year 1887 the region about Hudson Avenue and Norton Street presented an aspect not unlike that which had impressed Sienkiewicz in his brief journey along the lake shore eleven years earlier. "Lowland meadows, overgrown with thick grass, cattails and last year's stubble" certainly were to be seen and the wild ducks of which he had momentary glimpses as "shadowy little crosses suspended between earth and sky" made seasonal visits to the little creek which ran through the Hudson-Norton tract. Wild ducks, in fact, were hunted on this very creek by Peter Bartylak, a Pole whose residence in Rochester dates back to 1875, and who has lived to see the old creek disappear beneath the surface of the fields, (13) and the fields themselves converted into a thriving community. The rural character of this landscape was considerably heightened by Moulson's Nursery, which occupied the entire north side of Norton Street from Joseph Avenue to Carter Street, a business enterprise which employed many Poles of both sexes during those early years, and which for that reason successfully resisted the urban development which rapidly broke up surrounding territory into building lots and streets.

Material facilities were almost wholly lacking. Horse cars, it is true, came down as far as St. Jacob Street, but

(13) The current of this creek has since been incorporated into the northeast sewage system.

beyond this terminal Hudson Avenue was but a dirt road with no sidewalks, continuing as little more than a wagon track into the nursery fields across Norton Street. Six wells furnished the only available water supply and modern sewage, of course, was completely absent. The farmlike appearance of the section will be seen in a reproduction, here published, of the map taken from the official Lathrop platbook of Rochester for 1888, on which the car line is indicated, the creek and wells having been added by the artist from contemporary records.

Of thoroughfares in a stage of development sufficiently advanced to be called streets there were but two which crossed Hudson north of Clifford Avenue. These were Bernard Street and Alphonse Street, which then rejoiced in the somewhat ponderous name of Alphonsus Avenue. St. Jacob Street and Frederick Park met at Hudson in the same dimensional relation as now exists, and Wilkins Street, or Avenue, extended at an angle across Hudson as an unnamed continuation. Hayward Place, which later became Avenue D, did not cross Hudson to the east. A few streets, such as Weyl, had been established at Joseph Avenue and in later years were continued to Hudson. On the east side of Hudson, however, not a single cross street existed from the lane opposite Wilkins Avenue to Norton Street. The very presence of the city line as far north as Norton Street, enclosing so wide a tract of agricultural real estate, serves to demonstrate the notions of municipal expansion then in vogue, which led the authorities to reach out for future communities, rather than to await their suburban formation and later absorption by the statutory redrafting of city lines.

Almost from the moment that the site was chosen for St. Stanislaus Church, Rochester Poles began to assemble and establish living quarters in its vicinity. In the words of Jacob Jaworski, an early resident, the section was "like a hive to bees", an irresistible lodestone. Before the earth had been disturbed for the foundations of the new church, groups of Poles in high anticipation, came trooping from all sections of the city to do no more than gaze upon the vacant lot. In the case of four women, two of whom are living today, the very sight of this lot and the realization of community proprietorship, brought tears of joy, shed beneath the fruit trees of the nursery on Norton Street. Wojciech Kaczmarek, who still lives on St. Stanislaus Street, was one of the first arrivals and lived in a tiny frame house on Hudson Avenue near Avenue D, among the earliest dwellings on Hudson Avenue north of Clifford, while his more commodious home was under construction. Michal Gibowski also lived near the church site for some time before 1890 and recalls what was probably the first Polish picnic in Rochester, an affair held in the summer of 1889 at Scheutzen Park, for which an orchestra was brought from Buffalo, costing no less than $75.00, an impressive extravagance warranted only by the highly festive spirit which Rochester's first Polish picnic was designed to celebrate. This picnic, and the fact that parties were already being held in the temporary homes of families who were building permanent residences, leave no room for doubt that high activity had existed in the Hudson-Norton section for some time prior to the completion of the church edifice.

Societies too were formed at this time. The St.

Stanislaus society and the Uhlans of St. Michael, which already have been mentioned, both existed before St. Stanislaus church was dedicated and the latter society continued for many years. A peculiar uncertainty exists as to whether the St. Stanislaus society was formed in advocacy of naming the new church after its patron saint, or came into being after the church name had been chosen. (14) Its organization, however, in October 1887, and the presence of other organized effort at this early date greatly aided in building a parish strongly united despite its small numbers.

With the completion and dedication of the church, numerous other families moved in. Some of these families, attracted by ties of blood and relationship, came from Buffalo and other sections of the state. In many cases, husbands who had arrived alone in America in the early '80s sent for wives and children after the formation of a community had become a certainty in 1887, and from that time through '90, '91, and '92, there were frequent happy reunions. Mrs. Josephine Szczupak, and Mrs. Walenty Paprocka, veteran Polish residents of Rochester, whose families were later united by marriage, came to Rochester within six months of each other in 1888 to join their husbands. The growth of the new settlement was thus accelerated by this powerful impetus toward the establishment of homes.

Money with which to erect dwelling houses at this time was none too plentiful, particularly when it is remembered that virtually the entire group participated financially in the business of paying for the new

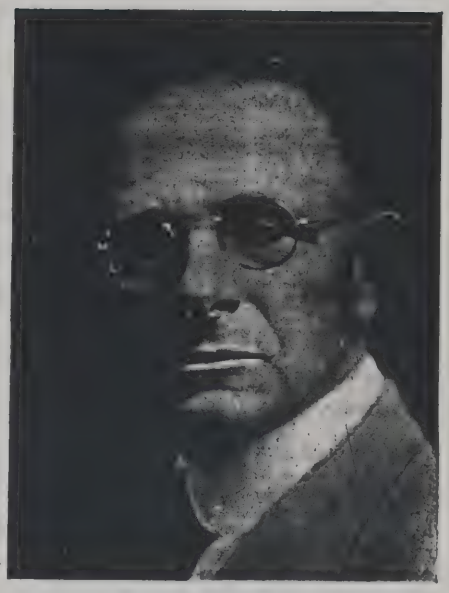
(14) Incidentally, this was not the first St. Stanislaus Society in Rochester; an organization bearing this name existed in old St. Paul's Church as early as 1863, in which German membership predominated.

OLD ST. STANISLAUS CHURCH

church, an accomplishplishment which was carried through with the periodic contribution of varying small amounts, sometimes as low as five cents at a time, faithfully and loyally donated. Most of the breadwinners of the community worked as laborers or in unskilled factory occupations, a condition not only due to lack of skilled training but to an appreciable extent the result of unfamiliarity with the English language. Furthermore, the small accumulations which many hard workers had managed to lay aside were depleted if not entirely exhausted in bringing wives and relatives from Europe. It is evident that the rapid development of the new community would have been impossible had not its members in the strength of a common purpose, practised the strictest and most well managed economy.

Much of the dispatch with which building was accomplished and not a little of the attractive character which still distinguishes the residential plan of the Polish quarter unquestionably is due to the energy and foresight of Stephen Zielinski. Having arrived in America with his parents in 1880, a boy not yet in his teens, Zielinski worked with his father as a mason and did his first in-

dependent contract job in 1888. From this small beginning grew the great general contracting business and lumber yard which for years have been an outstanding commercial feature of the Polish community.



Stephen Zielinski

Following the establishment of the church, Zielinski undertook building projects almost without number. The first rough wooden sidewalks along Hudson Avenue were laid with lumber supplied by him. Families unable to manage the burdensome financing of new homes rarely failed to find in him either the needed assistance or helpful advice on their problems, and his contracting operations provided convenient and congenial employment for many of his fellow Poles. The scope of these operations is better realized when it is recalled that from five to seven hundred houses in the Polish section are Zielinski built houses, most of which were erected during the twenty odd years following 1890. (15)

From the point of view of the city at large as well as from that of the community itself, the extent to which

(15) Zieliński's building operations, it should be noted, were by no means confined to the Polish quarter, and numerous houses of his construction exist in many sections of Rochester today.

Stephen Zielinski was involved in the material upbuilding of the Polish section is highly important. His intense activity during the first years of settlement somehow typifies the Rochester Pole as a citizen. The desire efficiently to attend to its own work and to be economically self-sufficient has been a conspicuous trait of the local Polish group. It is more than probable that in the absence of men exemplified by Zielinski, alien interests would have seized the opportunity to exploit the new community through the medium of home building. Experience with foreign groups in many American cities has shown that from such alien exploitation are born the cramped and unsightly housing conditions which some day become the slums of our congested metropolitan centers. Fortunately, however, for Rochester and its Polish citizens alike, a contrary example was set by Stephen Zielinski, whose ambition to succeed financially was coupled with a genuine pride in the community he was helping to build, an example which his compatriots have closely followed in later building operations.

The prosecution of construction work was often impeded and the comfort of the new residents frequently assailed by a certain viscous substance which seems to have figured largely in the history of Rochester from earliest times. This was the mud. Spring rains and the gentle slope of Hudson Avenue toward the north combined to make the region about Norton Street a veritable swampland during the early months of the year. At such times men and women alike wore heavy rubber boots, and were obliged moreover to approach and enter dwellings through fields to the rear, rather than attempt the cumbersome and perilous navigation of Hudson Avenue.

The teamster hauling his load of lumber to the site of a new home felt himself fortunate indeed to arrive at his destination without at least once having had to summon assistance in freeing his wagon from the mire. Accounts of the difficulties thus experienced are reminiscent of the eloquence with which Rochester's first chroniclers sought to impress upon future generations the unfathomable morass of Buffalo Street, in the spring "a kind of viaduct" (16), to cross which required sturdy legs and a stout heart.

Obstacles of a material nature, however, served only to increase the elation within the new group at the prospect of future development, and added zest to its labors. The Polish spirit of jollity, long repressed, sprang to impulsive expression, and numerous family and neighborhood celebrations were held on the strength of events which today seem unimportant. The completion of floor and roof on each new dwelling called for an exciting housewarming, at which the guests, attired in "Sunday best", sang native songs and whirled energetically over the bare floors in lively polkas, to the music of Walenty Paprocki's fiddle, a musical instrument which has become a fond tradition among the older residents of the Polish community. The acquisition of colorful uniforms by the Uhlans Society increased the popularity of impromptu parades, and religious holidays dedicated to saints and martyrs of the Roman Catholic Church were usually treated as community observances. Occasionally this festive spirit sought individual expression in surprising fashion, and the story is still told of a memorable

(16) PARKER: ROCHESTER. A STORY HISTORICAL.

uproar which broke forth in the wee small hours of a certain Easter morning, when one over-enthusiastic citizen, annoyed at the impervious indifference of his compatriots who had gone to bed, conceived the happy idea of ringing the bells of St. Stanislaus Church, thereby sharing his exuberance with the world, an experiment which met with unexpected success.

As may be expected, the extent to which the group enveloped itself in its labor of settlement at first inspired the general adoption of European manners, customs and even dress. Men whose employment brought them into contact with Americans, to be sure, quickly learned the advantages of submerging their European earmarks beneath a veneer of standardization, but among relatives and neighbors at home they surrounded themselves as thoroughly as possible with the native Slavic atmosphere. The English language, which in a limited degree was used on the daily job, was more spoken about than spoken when at home, and the quizzical exploration of its mysteries by workmen who gathered at the evening fireside passed many entertaining and no doubt unwittingly profitable hours. Early struggles with this puzzling tongue still form a prolific topic of conversation among Poles who have since completely mastered it; there is the story, for example, of the new arrival who encountered, as his first experience with English, the word "picnic", the contemplation of which filled him with consternation, when he translated it to mean "no drinks", a connotation which Slavic phonetics, if not Polish grammar, unmistakably attach to this combination of letters.

The preservation of European dress continued for a time, more noticeably among the women, many of

whom were more recent immigrants than the men. Voluminous dresses and shawls brought from across the Atlantic, more comfortable than the strange attire of Main Street, usually were made of material rugged enough to withstand the ravages of hard wear and represented traditions difficult to relinquish. Colorful peasant costumes were used on dress-up occasions, even by the men, a custom largely due to the fact that these costumes, in pattern and in color, possess various distinct meanings and constitute a sort of sartorial heraldry by which the provincial habitat and station in life of the wearer may be identified.

Contacts with the city at large were few and limited to those which daily employment and the purchase of essential provisions made necessary. Weekly trips downtown were made by groups of three or four women, who came home with an assortment of bundles containing such foodstuffs as the establishments of Front Street, Franklin Street and the public market provided. These localities were important and widely patronized centers of trade for all of Rochester in those days, and their busy, cosmopolitan air appealed to the Polish housewife, who could thus obtain within the radius of a city block virtually everything edible that would be needed for the ensuing week. Much of this petty trading, it is observed, was done at the stores of Jewish merchants, another custom brought from Europe, where this type of business ordinarily was conducted by Jews; occasionally it happened that a Jewish proprietor was familiar with the Polish or some kindred Slavic language. In later years when economy became a less pressing consideration and time more plentiful, Poles became familiar

with the department stores and specialty shops, purchasing a wide variety of articles, and made fewer expeditions of the food-buying character, as markets and groceries came into being within the community.

Aside from such travel about the city as employment and provisioning required, the chief objects of attraction for the Polish group seem to have been the city parks. Parks, in Europe had been for the most part the exclusive prerogative of wealthy landowners and nobles, who opened their domains to the general public only on rare occasions; the spacious lawns and groves of Rochester parks, therefore, which were at all times free and open to every comer, furnished a novel and refreshing form of recreation which was enjoyed to the utmost. Highland Park with its reservoir and fountain seems to have been especially interesting, combining, as it does, beauty and utility.

Private tasks and the engrossing business of creating a community almost completely diverted attention from all forms of public entertainment, even in cases where the contrary might be presumed. Inquiry among older residents seems to show that neither the performance of the Polish actress Modjeska (17) with Booth in "Richelieu" (1888) nor her appearance with Otis Skinner in a Shakespearean repertory (1892) attracted any interest on the part of Rochester Poles. "These things cost much money", said one veteran Polish citizen; "what money we had all went into our homes and church. Besides, the plays were in a language which we did not yet understand." Language was no barrier, however, to the

(17) Anglicized spelling of the Polish name Modrzejewska, presumably adopted by the actress herself and therefore employed herein.

enjoyment of music and the recital on March 16th, 1892 by a rising young Polish artist, Ignace Jan Paderewski, was attended by a number of his enthusiastic countrymen, the nucleus of a large and loyal following which to this day never fails to turn out for Paderewski concerts.

From the bustling activity of northern Hudson Avenue business enterprises soon began to emerge. As to which of these may claim the precedence of time any positive statement, for a number of reasons would be a hazardous assumption, (18) since development along these lines originated in several different quarters simultaneously. Among the very earliest, of course, was the Zielinski lumber yard on what is now Kosciuszko Street, which certainly existed as a going concern, even before the advent of markets and groceries, a fact further significant of the energy with which the problem of home building was being attacked.

Retail food stores soon came. One of the first of these was the Tomasz grocery, a small establishment, soon followed by others. A thriving grocery was operated also by Walenty Nowacki, whose various pursuits indicate a surprising versatility for he was at the same time organist of St. Stanislaus Church and volunteer teacher of probably the first group of children ever assembled in Rochester to receive Polish instruction. Another Nowacki, Antoni, unrelated to Walenty, for a time maintained a grocery on Hudson Avenue at the corner of the street which later became Northeast Avenue. A small grocery was conducted by Wojciech Kaczmarek in the front of

(18) For some reason, the city directories of this period are incomplete with respect to the nature of business ventures, or persons who conducted them in the northeast quarter, a situation possibly due to the frequent changes of proprietorship which took place.

his home on St. Stanislaus Street. Two markets at first supplied the community with meats, both of which were at first on North Street, later removing to the active center of trade on Hudson Avenue. These were the Schultz market, and that of Leo Drias, the former being soon transferred to the proprietorship of one Skrumak, who again established the business on North Street. From accounts of these early ventures, it is discernible that the turnover was high, in goodwill as well as in items of merchandise, and the stores themselves changed hands with noticeable frequency during the restless, formative period of settlement. With few exceptions, the commercial life of this section did not become appreciably fixed or permanent until about 1900.

This trend toward community self-sufficiency has an interesting phase in the demand for various unique articles of diet pleasing to Polish taste which immediately sprang up with the appearance of Polish stores and foodshops, a demand which at first was met with some inconvenience and difficulty by resorting to isolated wholesalers in other large centers of Polish population. In a comparatively few years, however, Rochester had its own sources of supply for these specialties. Thus Thomas Brodowczynski, whose trade as a butcher had been learned in Europe, and who opened his market on Hudson Avenue in 1898, became probably the first butcher in Rochester to manufacture the several varieties of "kielbasa", or Polish sausage, a delicacy highly esteemed by Europeans, and much in demand by many native Americans who have become aware of its existence through Polish friends and acquaintances. The Brodowczynski shop, incidentally, is still a flourishing establish-

ment at the corner of Hudson Avenue and Kosciuszko Street, numbering among its customers many non-Polish citizens from other parts of Rochester, to whom it is generally known by the singularly Gaelic name of "Brodie's Market". Thomas Brodowczynski, its founder, is still hale and hearty and with his sons, William, Walter and Stephen, still operates the market, which, with the single exception of the Zielinski lumber and contracting business, is the oldest commercial enterprise still active under its original proprietorship in the Polish community.

In addition to these and other retail shops which were started from time to time, there should be mentioned, of course, certain establishments devoted to the business of assuaging thirst, establishments without which no community, in those days, whatever its racial origin or background, would have been quite complete. Doubtless pioneer honors in this field belong to the so-called Schneider Hotel just beyond the city line at the northeast corner of Norton Street and Hudson Avenue, which antedated the Polish community itself by a considerable number of years, and the frame structure of which was not finally demolished until ground was cleared for the Benjamin Franklin High School. Although at no time conducted by a Polish proprietor, and apparently very little patronized by the Polish group, its mere proximity to the settlement and the great number of years during which it remained have given this building the character of an accepted landmark in which capacity it may be said to figure in the life and history of its neighborhood.

At various times during the early life of the community there were three or four saloons conducted by

nearly twice as many proprietors, from which it appears that this type of business as well often changed hands. One of these was operated by Gostomski, a Pole who had formerly resided in Buffalo and who, oddly enough, had some part in laying out and naming Kosciuszko and Sobieski Streets during his brief residence in the local settlement. More important, however, were the establishments of Albert Maciejewski and Lawrence Zwolinski, respectively, both of which have survived in other forms of activity, and in the meeting hall which adjoined the old Zwolinski bar was born the well known "Echo" musical society, which has played so important a part in interpreting Polish choral music to the city of Rochester, and now has a modern and attractive hall of its own on Sobieski Street.

The saloon, or bar, indeed, among Polish people occupied an important place in the life of the settlement for a number of reasons not connected with its function as a dispenser of beverages. It is noticeable that the successful barrooms invariably provided a hall or parlors where societies might hold meetings and groups congregate for purposes of neighborhood or community planning. Maciejewski Hall, which soon after its inception took the name of Pulaski Hall, has acquired during the years considerable historic importance as the early meeting place of numerous prominent Polish societies. Nor may it be assumed that such organizations regarded drinking as an essential part of their proceedings, for there are well authenticated instances of high indignation on the part of bar proprietors who had thrown open their parlors to homeless clubs of the neigh-

borhood in the mistaken hope of thereby improving business.

Societies, in fact, during the first five or six years of the community's existence, were passing rapidly through preliminary stages and presently were to blossom forth as full fledged organizations, a development which could not well take place until a little of the ground had been cleared for their healthy growth. During these years almost the only organized groups having an official character were those which assembled under the leadership of church and priest and which pursued essentially religious or devotional objects. Roughly these may be listed as the societies of St. Casimir, St. Stanislaus and the Uhlans of St. Michael, which already have been discussed, the societies of St. Thaddeus, St. Joseph, St. Adelbert and the Sodality of the Holy Rosary, still an active unit in the parish of St. Stanislaus. The religious character of these organizations shows clearly how the early Polish group clung to the church and thought of itself largely in terms of the parish, an essentially European concept.

As a matter of fact, all of the developments here discussed, covering the five or six years following the foundation of the settlement, represent in a sense, a natural reversion to European habits, and a strong impulse toward the duplication of European environment. In the light of years, however, it is seen that this reversion paved the way for a more genuine assimilation by imbuing in the group an understanding of civic responsibility, more willingly assumed by an organized social unit than by scattered alien individuals. Without

a community, the isolated Poles or Polish families must sooner or later have been absorbed in the mass of the city's population by simple obliteration; with a community these influences began the assimilative process on a basis of economic independence, making possible in time to come contributions to the city of a cultural character which might otherwise have died in embryo.

Not many years had passed before the new community began again to turn its thoughts toward the political status of Poland, that ever vital issue which had burned in the heart of every Pole since 1795. A new organizational influence was on the horizon and formally took its place in the Rochester community on July 2nd, 1893 with the formation of Polish National Alliance, Group 216, Sons of the Polish Crown. Mention of this organization inevitably leads to a consideration of its parent, the Polish National Alliance in the United States, for the wide influence and commanding importance of the Alliance as a national institution affects the whole question of the Pole in America so profoundly that a brief exposition of its origin and nationwide background is not only appropriate but necessary in order thoroughly to understand many later developments within the local community.

The major struggle of Poland to regain her independence on native soil by her own efforts may be said to have culminated in the Polish-Russian revolution of 1863, the results of which were incalculably disastrous for the Polish people. Following this catastrophe, many responsible Polish leaders perceived the futility of further

revolutionary movements [19] and sought to focus attention on the unification of the patriotic sentiment, wherever and by whatever means such unification might legitimately be pursued, in preparation for some future time when the events of history should disturb the precarious equilibrium of European politics sufficiently to interest the world in the freedom of Poland. This program of uniting Poles under a common banner of hope, in the United States took concrete form in the Polish National Alliance.

The five practical idealists directly responsible for this association resided in 1880 in California, where plans for the new organization were made and from which state the summons went out to Poles everywhere in the United States. Chicago, containing the largest American center of Polish population, became the headquarters of the Alliance and the Polish newspaper, Zgoda, of that city became its organ. The convention city of its birth, however, became Philadelphia by deliberate choice of the organizers, as having been the historic cradle of American independence. The motive of patriotic nationalism underlying the formation of this society from time to time has been supplemented by the assumption of other and more material functions, principally those relating to personal insurance of one sort or another. Attention to these matters, coupled with the complete accomplishment of its chief object in the political rebirth of Poland, has tended somewhat in the passing of time to obscure the aims for which it originally came into being, and it is refreshing and instructive to read again the stirring de-

(19) This view was by no means universal among Poles, however, and from 1863 through the World War, two schools of Polish opinion representing, on the one hand the strategy of diplomacy, and on the other that of aggression, engaged in frequent controversy.

claration contained in its constitutional preamble, which is here reprinted in full:

> *"When the Polish Nation, notwithstanding heroic sacrifices and sanguinary struggles, lost its independence and by a dispensation of Providence was doomed to a triple bondage and was divested of the rights to life and development by the superior force of the invaders, a portion thereof, most severely affected, voluntarily preferring exile to heavy bondage in the Fatherland, repaired, under the guidance of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, to the free land of Washington and, settling here, found Hospitality and Equal Rights.*
>
> *"This valiant handful of pilgrims, not losing sight of their duties to their newly adopted country and their own nation, founded the Polish National Alliance in the United States of North America in order to form a more perfect union of the Polish people in this country, to insure to them a proper moral, intellectual, economical and social development, to protect the language of the Fatherland, as well as the national culture and customs from decay, and to promote more effectually all movements tending to secure, by all legitimate means, the reestablishment of the independence of the Polish territories in Europe."*(20)

This interesting statement of principle reveals much of that quality which makes the Pole unique among American immigrants. By reason of his personal relationship to the Polish cause, his loyalty to America has been

(20) The authorized English translation of the Constitutional Preamble adopted by the Polish National Alliance in 1913; the author is advised by the Alliance that this is identical with the original (1880), of which, however, no translation appears to have been made at that time.

a living concept resting always on two legs; one the fulfillment and enjoyment of liberty and the other an ambition for its future achievement, thus imparting constantly to the life of America a little of that "spirit of '76", in which the appetite for freedom is whetted by the uncertainty of its attainment.

The Polish National Alliance, therefore, became the first successful attempt at consolidation of American Poles. The method of organizing its various chapters or "groups", as they are called, is simple and orderly and with minor changes in procedure has remained the same from the outset. In localities having no group, five eligible persons may obtain a charter, and be assigned a number by satisfying certain formalities. The number assigned shows the order in which the group falls with relation to all other groups in the United States. In communities already having one or more groups, twenty-five charter members are required to form a new one, and any two or more groups in the same district may act as a unit through a representative committee or "commune", which also exists under charter from the parent organization and is distinguished by a number of its own, showing its chronological relation to other communes.

Eligibility to membership in the Alliance has been a troublesome question during several periods of its history and is an interesting subject in itself, although it is here impossible to treat it fully. Generally speaking the qualifications for membership are liberal; both sexes are welcomed; among adult groups new members must fall within the age limits of sixteen and sixty, and they should be of Polish birth or descent, although it must

be admitted that this rule has not been rigorously enforced. The avowal of loyalty to the cause of Polish independence, when arising from unquestionable integrity of motive, has now and then opened the doors of the Alliance to racial aliens. The difficulties which have beset the society in this connection have sprung mainly from the conflict of its nationalist program with the spiritual and political internationalism represented in turn by the Roman Catholic Church and certain Socialistic parties, with both of which influences it has been involved in the past. The effect which these involvements had on Polish affairs in Rochester will be seen in later pages.

Rochester has had in all seven Polish National Alliance Groups, numbers 216, 396, 512, 783, 1020, 1145 and 1200, as well as Commune 27, representing several groups acting as one. Group 783, properly speaking, is the Polish Falcons Gymnastic Society, which joined the Alliance in 1906 but since has dissolved the connection, and Groups 396 and 512 have merged under the latter number, so that there are now but five Groups in the city, exclusive of Commune 27. Group 216, the oldest, celebrated its fortieth anniversary in October, 1933 at a jubilee celebration attended by Honorable Frank X. Swietlik, Dean of Marquette University, Milwaukee, who holds the highest ranking office in the National Alliance, that of "censor", or moderator.

At its organization in 1893, Group 216 numbered fourteen members, most of whom had been actively associated with the community from its beginning. These were John Adamski, Joseph Ciechanowski, who will be remembered as a charter member of St. Casimir's Society,

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP P.N.A. GROUP 216. BACK ROW, left to right, Frank Felerski, Joseph Wardynski, Maximilian Sosnowski, Joseph Ciechanowski, Kazimierz Rajmer; MIDDLE ROW, left to right, Konstanty Zajaczkowski, Stanislaw Donke, Jan Adamski, Adam Piotrowski, Adam Winiewski, Stanislaw Pietraszewski; FRONT ROW, left to right, Joseph Sobieralski, Antoni Nowacki, Leon Kenczynski, Wladyslaw Paprzycki. Two other charter members, Joseph Walczak and Wincenty Wegner, are not in this picture.

Stanislaw Donke, Frank Felerski, Leon Kenczynski, who became the president, Antoni Nowacki, the storekeeper, Wladyslaw Paprzycki, who was elected secretary, Stanislaw Pietraszewski, Max Sosnowski, Joseph Walczak, the first treasurer, Joseph Wardynski, Wincenty Wegner, Adam Winiewski, also the first leader of St. Casimir's, and Konstanty Zajaczkowski. Two of the charter members, John Adamski and Stanislaw Donke, still reside in Rochester and at the recent jubilee there was conferred upon John Adamski by the National Alliance a decoration in recognition of his pioneer services, received by his wife in the absence of her husband because of illness. Donke is now president of the chapter. These men were all vitally interested in the cause of Polish liberty,

and were primarily concerned with the business of uniting behind that cause the rapidly growing community in Rochester. Meetings were held at regular and frequent intervals at their various homes and the advancement of the Alliance, the establishment of a library of Polish books, the cultivation and development of Polish ideals in the new generation of American born Polish children in Rochester were freely planned. A library, in fact, was almost immediately established, the various members generously placing their few personal books at the disposal of the community. So far as is known, this was the first attempt at organizing a Polish library in the city of Rochester. With the impetus provided by this early contact with the nation at large through the medium of the national society and the energy supplied by further organization of the settlement, many of these plans have become realities.

Group 216 may be regarded as the first acknowledged organization of a purely secular character to enter the Rochester community, but the tendency to broader interests, of which its presence is an indication, is manifest in a number of other developments taking place at almost the same time. The matter of educating children was beginning to be thought of, and sentiment was becoming fairly general for a parish school. Almost as soon as there could be gathered together a workable group of Polish children, Walenty Nowacki, organist of St. Stanislaus Church had marshalled these into a class, and had undertaken their instruction in the Polish language, using his own home for a classroom. By 1893 or 1894, however, this class had grown to awkward proportions and a local school was seen to be a necessity.

The enactment by the State Legislature of the so-called Consolidated Schools Law in 1894, under which the provision for compulsory education of minors was much more strictly enforced, may have helped to bring this question to a head, since it is certain that the Polish settlement wished the instruction of its young to go forward under its own auspices, rather than suffer it to scatter the childhood of the community among many different and essentially alien schools.

It is of course inevitable that a movement of this nature should incline entirely toward a parochial school, and in fact the movement virtually originated within the church. By this time, some four years following the erection of the St. Stanislaus building, the financial burden had lessened somewhat and church and parish, under the leadership of Father Szadzinski, turned energetically to the task of raising funds for a new school. Ground was broken on August 26th, 1896 and cornerstone ceremonies took place on the 4th of the succeeding October. The school building, erected by Stephen Zieliński, reached completion during the winter of 1896-97 and on May 9, 1897 was dedicated by Bishop Bernard McQuaid, following a colorful procession from the church auditorium. It is worth noting that the number of participants in the dedication was reliably estimated at one thousand persons, a figure which demonstrates the rapid growth of the community during the nine and a half years since the organization of St. Casimir's Society.

The interest displayed in this project on the part of the settlement as a whole was very great. The hall of the new school was for many years looked upon as a public meeting place and a large gathering in commem-

oration of the 1863 revolution had been held in this hall on November 29, 1896, [21] some months before the institution was dedicated. Before its formal opening, in fact, there was here founded on March 28th, 1897 another library of Polish books, a modest affair of but sixty volumes, with a very few periodicals; lectures were arranged in the school hall, at which small contributions were made for the purchase of additional publications.

First classes in St. Stanislaus School were held on May 10th, 1897, with a total registration of one hundred sixty pupils under the tutelage of four Polish nuns of the order of St. Joseph, Sisters Adelbert, Ladislaus, Barbara and Catherine, thought to be the first nuns of Polish nationality to teach in Rochester. Three of these faithful Sisters are still living, Sister Ladislaus in fact, being still a member of the St. Stanislaus faculty. Sisters Adelbert and Barbara are again personal associates and now teach in Elmira. In the early days of the school's history, the burden of many inconveniences was cheerfully borne by the four nuns, on whose shoulders rested a new and heavy responsibility. Quarters could not at once be provided for their accommodation within the parish and for some time, during all sorts of weather, they were obliged to walk to and fro between the school building and Nazareth Hall on Jay Street. In time the upper floor of the school was made into a miniature convent for their use and of course there eventually was built the adjoining convent itself, in which St. Stanislaus teachers are still housed.

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(21) The date in 1863 on which the famous revolution broke out; this revolution is commonly referred to among the Poles as "The November Uprising".

Identity with national Polish affairs was further strengthened by the organization of two new Alliance groups, the first on August 12th, 1897 of P. N. A. Group 396, a mechanic's and artisan's chapter, under the presidency of Frank Mietus, who, by an unusual coincidence, again occupied the office of president on July 14th, 1932, when this Group consolidated with Group 512. April 1, 1900 saw the organization of this Group 512 with Frank Mrzywka as president, under the chapter designation of "St. Izydor's Society". Investigation of the available records of the settlement for the fifteen years from 1890 to 1905 shows these three Alliance Groups to be the only officially organized bodies outside the direct guidance of the church. Whether this fact has any significance is a matter of conjecture, but it is evident that shortly before 1900, a situation was beginning to develop which was to sunder the community in a local quarrel so exciting as to attract citywide attention and interest.

The parish dispute of St. Stanislaus which flared intermittently for a number of years and finally resulted in the foundation of the Polish National Catholic Church of St. Casimir in 1908, will be well remembered by many Rochesterians. whether Polish or not, but few, perhaps, realize the issues that were actually at stake or the underlying causes from which those issues proceeded. To properly approach an understanding of them requires the perusal of certain events, national in scope, and farflung in their effect upon the psychological temper of the American Pole.

Although Poland for centuries has been a predominantly Roman Catholic country and the mass of Polish immigration to the United States has been and still is

of that religious persuasion, it is by no means surprising that the atmosphere and institutional structure of the Church in America should have presented unfamiliar features to the native Pole. His earliest church affiliations in this country necessarily were with alien parishes under alien priests; more often than not, for linguistic reasons, these parishes were German, a condition hardly calculated to satisfy the Pole, whose presence in a German parish frequently created problems which taxed the diplomacy and ingenuity of the priest to the utmost. Even the formation of Polish congregations sometimes did not solve these problems entirely, for the open agitation of the Polish cause within the Church could not well be countenanced by ecclesiastical authorities. Such open agitation, in fact, had not been countenanced even in Europe, with the important difference, however, that in Europe the responsibility for its suppression rested upon ruling governments and not upon the Church.

The organization of the Polish National Alliance, moreover, in a sense, embodied the desire on the part of American Poles to form a definitely lay organization, a tendency replete with latent provocation, although it awakened no immediate opposition from the clergy, who freely joined the Alliance in its early years. The later admission of Socialistic groups not in harmony with Catholicism, however, and the difficulties resulting from this development prompted the organization to divorce itself officially from all religious connections whatever, a course which brought about the immediate estrangement of the clergy.

The cry of Socialism, frequently raised during this period by the Church party in its criticism of the Alliance,

while to some extent warranted by the changing attitude of the national association, was loosely employed and became an irritating barrage behind which more vital issues were fought out, in various local forums, and usually along personal lines. The Marxian internationalism of certain Socialist elements, indeed, soon afterwards awakened active hostility within the Alliance, a circumstance which largely diverted attention from disputes with the Church and subsequent events have removed many points of difference, although the Alliance still retains an essentially non-sectarian policy.

The presence of strongly Roman Catholic parishes in every Polish community in the nation, coupled with the rapidly spreading establishment and influence of the Polish National Alliance, made it inevitable that this course of affairs should reflect itself in local events everywhere among Poles. In these developments and in the psychological mood which they produced, it is seen that the stage was being set for the birth of a new religious medium, exclusively Polish and positively nationalistic in viewpoint. This was the Polish National Catholic Church in America, founded at Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1897.

The immediate issues which led to the organization of the National Church, at the outset were strictly local to the parish in which it originated, and concerned principally the right of the congregation to a voice in church management and to the selection of its own priest. Rev. Francis Hodur, the incumbent clergyman, who held the views of a majority of his parishioners on these matters, precipitated a controversy with his immediate superiors, as the outcome of which he withdrew

from the authority of the Mother Church in America and established the Polish National Catholic Church. An attempt was made at first to conciliate the differences which had arisen, to which end Father Hodur went to Rome in 1898. His efforts there were unsuccessful and in consequence of the breach which his activities had created, sentence of excommunication was pronounced. Upon returning to Scranton, promotion of the National Church went forward, all relations with the Roman Catholic Church being forever broken in December, 1900, and Reverend Hodur became highest ranking Bishop of the new denomination, in which capacity he still serves.

In outward appearance, the National Church service and ritual cannot readily be distinguished from that of the Roman Catholic, except for the use of Polish instead of Latin in the Mass, and the greater emphasis which is placed upon Poland and her spiritual welfare in the less formal phases of worship. A reference to its credal statements will reveal a number of departures from orthodox Catholicism, centering chiefly about the fundamental divergence of theory respecting the source of temporal authority, which is held as proceeding from the parish instead of the priest.

From all of these circumstances it is obvious that the air of the Rochester community was charged with the possibility of church dissension long before the actual break came in 1907-08. The suspicion with which the National Alliance was regarded by the church extended to the parish of St. Stanislaus, and the efforts of Group 216 to take its place within the fold as a properly sanctioned society failed to meet with success. Group 396 at first did not arouse the disapproval of the priest, al-

though it appears never to have been officially recognized [22]. The number of parishioners represented by these P. N. A. affiliations was not large but contained men who were among the most active in the community, and who commanded unofficially a more or less substantial following. Factions sprang up, declaring sympathy with one side or the other, and the ensuing exchanges of argument were extremely heated, so much so, in fact, that mere words sometimes lacked adequate conviction and were supplemented by persuasive measures so emphatic as to attract the interference of the police.

From the initial cleavage of principle which led the Alliance Groups and the priest to look askance at each other, the controversy resolved itself altogether into a conflict of personalities in which the real issues were submerged beneath private animosities. The attitude maintained by Father Szadzinski, despite its unpopularity, was entirely consistent, and when the reproofs which he administered to his recalcitrant parishioners implied Socialistic motives to their activities, he was voicing the position of the Church at large, for which, in accord with ancient tradition, it had certain clear cut reasons. What the Church had not yet begun to realize, however, was that an undercurrent of anti-Socialist sentiment was already beginning to develop within the Alliance, and the characterization of Alliance members as Socialists, far from enlightening them as to the Church's position, unwittingly fanned the flames of dissension to still greater heights.

(22) For many centuries it has been the custom among Poles for each parish society to display its insignia or banner conspicuously within the church, which custom was, of course, brought to America; refusal on the part of the priest to permit this display, therefore, amounted virtually to interdiction of the society thus refused, and constituted a serious humiliation to its members.

The formation of the Polish Socialist Alliance in Rochester in May, 1905, naturally did not help matters any with respect to the church dispute. Although this organization was openly non-religious and made no advances, pro or con, in the direction of the church party, its simple presence at this critical juncture of affairs tended to increase the disquiet by giving hostile factions fresh material for argument and adding to the general confusion of issues. The part later played by this organization in the development of the community was important and the attacks to which it was subjected during the early months of its existence must be attributed to the extraordinary tension which preceding events had created.

The specific differences which caused the dissenting parishioners to withdraw from St. Stanislaus and establish the National Church of St. Casimir were somewhat analagous to those which had arisen at Scranton in the parish of Bishop Hodur, and related to the participation of laymen in the allocation of church moneys. To a large extent these differences proceeded from the unfamiliarity of the European Pole with the mechanics of Church organization in the United States, more particularly, of course, New York State. Management of Church finances in Europe was regarded, in certain essential respects, as a governmental function, and church support was materially provided for in the levy and collection of taxes. Hence the financial demands of his parish on the individual were met, for the most part, indirectly through other agencies than the priest. Here, however, the entire responsibility for the maintenance of church property rested upon the shoulders of the clergyman,

who was obliged to keep financial needs continually in the minds of his congregation in order to insure an adequate church income. The corporate structure of the parish, set up by state laws, in which the priest occupied the status of company treasurer under appointment by the Bishop, was a novel and mystifying innovation. It is not to be wondered at that these radical differences, which placed the congregation in a new relationship to the Church, somehow impressed the layman with the idea that he should exercise a degree of control over the parish funds.

Simple as this hypothesis appears, it of course strikes at the heart of that great theory of centralized authority and stewardship upon which rests the essential strength of Roman Catholic church government, and when the question arose in the St. Stanislaus parish it was met by the determined opposition of Father Szadzinski. It is altogether probable that the misunderstanding could have been amicably resolved, had it not occurred at a time when the entire Polish community was already seething with unrest. As it was, however, the anticlerical group resolved upon an appeal to Bishop McQuaid for a change of priests. In response to this appeal the Bishop personally addressed the parish respecting its duties and responsibilities, an admonition which unfortunately came too late to be effective. The dissenters thereupon appealed in turn to Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, the Papal Delegation in Washington and the Franciscans of Buffalo with no success.

At length a delegation was dispatched to Bishop Hodur of the National Church, who came to Rochester with Father Walenty Gawrychowski, a priest of that

church on October 15th, 1907 and launched the organization of a new parish, which took the name of St. Casimir. In February of the next year Father Gawrychowski established permanent residence and soon afterward, on March 4th, 1908 the new church edifice in Ernst Street was dedicated personally by Bishop Hodur. The parish of St. Casimir has since taken an active part in all public affairs of the local Polish community and during the week of October 29th — November 4th, 1933, celebrated its twenty-fifth jubilee, an affair which brought to the city a number of high dignitaries connected with the National Church in America. Its present pastor is Reverend Joseph Kula, who has been with the church since 1930, and the future of the parish as a vital factor in the life of the community seems assured.

POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ST. CASIMIR, 40 ERNST STREET, ROCHESTER.

Years of time have somewhat softened the hostilities which this memorable controversy produced, and even the few surviving residents who were actively involved seem inclined to look back upon its exciting episodes with whimsical tolerance. There is, in fact, a baffling diversity of opinion respecting not only the events them-

selves but the causes from which they sprung, due, no doubt, to the intensely personal character of the feeling engendered. Thus contemporary Polish developments external to Rochester, herein seen to have been the underlying causes of the breach are revealed in the memories and records of the present community as isolated threads, hardly perceptible until the dust of much irrelevant incident is blown away.

Apart from these outside influences, the very expansion of the Polish settlement from its humble beginnings during the '80s and '90s, provides a purely local explanation of these troublesome years. The tiny group of families which, in 1890, had founded a church, had now, in a sense, grown beyond the confines of a parish. The structure of the native American community, in which the church, although a harmonious part of the whole, is yet distinct from the body politic, was beginning to attract the favorable notice of immigrant leaders. Furthermore, the adoption of this idea by foreign settlements in the United States was greatly expedited by their rapid growth in a period of more or less free immigration, a fact singularly true of the Rochester Polish group. To such a group, therefore, the European system of social organization, symbolized by the parish, soon became an outworn chrysalis, which, in the course of a very natural transition, burst open to make way for its own offspring, the democratic and peculiarly American type of community.

The subsequent history of the Polish community in Rochester seems, indeed, to prove that the results of this transition, however painful may have been its processes,

were almost universally beneficial, opening wide avenues of development, not only to the group as a whole, but to the church party itself. The air now having been cleared of that pollution whose fires had long smouldered beneath an apparently peaceful surface, many secular projects of a worthy character soon were undertaken, and St. Stanislaus Church was more freely enabled to embark upon its own ambitious program of church expansion.

PART III

PART III

ALTHOUGH the controversial events described in the preceding section are highly important in their relation to the history of the local Polish group, and at the time engrossed the attention of almost the entire community—to some extent, in fact, that of the city itself—it must not be supposed that these events took place to the complete exclusion of all other developments within the settlement, or that every Pole in the city was an active participant. Activity which was going forward in several quarters, and which upon the termination of the parish dispute immediately accelerated, points to the conclusion that even during this diverting excitement, the basis was being laid for a smooth and healthy resuscitation.

Important among the organizations at work during this period was one which, in the nature of things, could not have become entangled in the internal warfare of any of the contending factions; namely, the Polish Socialist Alliance. Committed at the outset to a non-religious creed, whose followers studiously avoided all church connections, its interest centered at once about certain projects which had somewhat inspired its formation, and which proceeded to more or less successful accomplishment, unimpeded by the outward course of affairs.

The presence of Polish Socialists in Rochester probably dates from the early nineteen hundreds and it

will be remembered that the Socialist group became articulate as an organized body in May, 1905. The Polish Socialist Alliance in the United States, with headquarters in New York City, had existed since 1896, a national party with which the local chapter was affiliated. Unlike the Polish National Alliance, however, the parliamentary structure of the Socialist party permitted much more liberal group autonomy, and in effect, the Rochester branch has existed since its foundation as an essentially independent society.

Sporadic Socialist movements had been a feature of European Poland almost from the date of the last partition, and patriotic groups frequently found in one or another form of Socialism a congenial environment in which to work for Polish freedom, a situation which created much misunderstanding among Poles themselves as well as among sympathetic alien peoples. (23) At the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1905-6) the powerful Socialist wing in European Poland saw the involvement of Russia with Pacific affairs as a long awaited opportunity for Polish insurrection. Failing of adequate support from the outside, however, this movement proved abortive and was put down by the Czarist government in a tedious and painful campaign of sanguinary guerilla warfare, highly ennervating to Polish morale. Fear and disappointment resulting from this unsuccessful revolution caused many Polish Socialists to emigrate,

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The study of various political movements classed under the head of Socialism, occurring in the Polish territories from 1795 to the restoration presents many complexities and is obviously impossible to consider in this volume. As a safeguard against misconstruction, however, it should be mentioned that the term "Socialist" as used in this connection applies strictly to Polish Socialists and ordinarily is not accompanied by the connotation of internationalism usually attaching to its use.

and investigation will show that their ranks in the United States grew materially during 1905 and the four or five subsequent years.

The Rochester Alliance of Polish Socialists was formed in May, 1905, under the leadership of Franciszek Kryszewski, with the immediate purpose of self-education in political matters, becoming one of the first Polish societies in the city to organize toward this end. Having had for three years no permanent meeting place, the group in 1908 rented space in an empty tailor shop on Bernard Street, a building since demolished. In keeping with its program of mental improvement, Polish books were purchased and a public library founded, containing 213 bound volumes, besides numerous periodicals and current bulletins dealing with Socialist affairs. It should be noted that the organization at that time was not large, and this ambitious enterprise represented a considerable sacrifice of money and effort on the part of individual members, particularly in view of the great difficulty with which books and publications in the Polish language were procured and imported to this country.

The library, being at the disposal of the entire community, met with prompt response and became an extraordinary success. Contributions came to it from many private sources and its popularity soon made it evident that new and larger quarters were necessary. Accordingly, on October 1, 1911, the large frame dwelling at 818 Hudson Avenue was acquired, and in this roomy structure the organization established its headquarters. Indeed, it may seem that the child had now overshadowed its parent, for title to the new building was

vested in a corporation, the Polish People's Library, Inc., a device employed for the somewhat naive reason that Socialistic principles forbade the ownership of real estate by a Socialist society.

The interest in real estate and the security which its possession is thought to afford is significant of the intense nationalism of the Pole, to which, of course, even the idealism of the Socialist philosophy has been subservient. Almost simultaneously with the permanent installation of the library, a cooperative home building corporation was being formed, also the outgrowth of the Socialist Alliance. For a number of years this company functioned efficiently, building and disposing of upwards of seventeen houses in the vicinity of Weyl Street. A cooperative store for the sale of groceries and retail merchandise was started, the idea being later taken up by other groups in the community. This type of joint venture, for some reason, was short-lived. It may be said, however, that the program of the local Socialist Alliance during these years added much of value to the life of the Polish community, and its comparative independence of the disputes which held other programs somewhat in abeyance made its contribution doubly important in the circumstances.

Another organization, later to assume a position of high importance among local Poles, and, during the World War, to the city of Rochester, had quietly held its first meeting and elected its first officers in the midst of the parish dissension. This was the Polish Falcons' Gymnastic Society, known to national Slavic circles as Nest 52. Again the outside world reached into Rochester to advance further the cause of Polish freedom and again

the local settlement of Poles rallied about ancient banners, for the Falcon Society as an institution dates from 1875 and had its origin in Lemberg [24], Austrian Poland. In Europe, as elsewhere, the Falcon movement had ostensibly existed only for purposes of athletic development, but always over the innocent exercises in which its members engaged there hung, as a pillar of fire in the wilderness, the fond hope that one day this league of Polish youth might become the nucleus of a national army. In 1880 the Polish National Alliance had encouraged the establishment of Falcon societies in the United States and the national association formed as a result became the father of the Rochester chapter.

The American Falcon program at its inception and for many years thereafter was strictly athletic with no official emphasis upon military ideas. Notwithstanding, its requirements for membership in the early days were extremely strict, indicating that the possible military future of the movement was borne constantly in mind by its leaders. Young men seeking to join were placed on one year's probation, during which interval their characters and lives were intimately and rigidly scrutinized. Admission to full membership meant subscription to a code of honor and regimen of personal conduct, rigorous as such undertakings are when inspired by lofty patriotic sentiments.

Rochester Falcons organized unobtrusively on New Year's Day, 1905, under the presidency of Stephen Kwiatkowski, one of the charter members of the old St. Casimir's Society, and now a veteran resident of the

(24) The present city of Lwow, renamed in Polish after the restoration.

Polish Community. Its headquarters until 1912 were in Maciejewski, or Pulaski Hall, and, although indirectly the outgrowth of Polish National Alliance activity, the society began its career on friendly terms with the church. A Mass, in fact, in recognition of its foundation, was celebrated by Father Szadzinski. Disapproval by the priest came later, however, apparently arising from the subsequent formation of Falconettes, a girls' auxiliary, whose cooperation with Falcons in the pursuit of certain common objectives was considered not in accord with the Church's principle of sex segregation.

In the spring of 1906, the Falcons' Society determined to become a chapter of Polish National Alliance and on May 2nd of that year this affiliation was completed with the receipt of a charter from Alliance headquarters and the assignment to Falcons of the conventional designation, Group 783. Since that time the organization has maintained fairly constant relations with the National Alliance, although Group 783, as such has dissolved by its merger on February 20, 1923 with P. N. A. Group 216, the oldest Rochester chapter, which now comprises both its original membership and that of the Falcons' Society.

The momentous activity of this gymnastic club properly began in 1911, when its greatly augmented ranks necessitated a building of its own. Despite the fact that finances hardly warranted this project, it was bravely started and successfully finished. Stories of the expedients adopted to accumulate funds and to minimize expenditures are highly inspiring. The Polish contractor, Marion Wojnowski, who undertook the job, lent his hearty support, and the performance of labor involved

VOLUNTEER MEMBERS OF FALCONS' SOCIETY DIGGING EXCAVATION FOR FALCONS' HALL AT 290 WEYL STREET, ROCHESTER.

became a kind of community adventure. Falcons themselves took pick and shovel and excavated the site, military fashion, in squads, arousing the applause and assistance of friends and neighbors, and realizing from the experience a considerable amount of enthusiastic amusement as well as much needed economy.

On May 30, 1913, the new hall at 290 Weyl Street, was dedicated in the presence of Theophil A. Starzynski, national President of Falcons' Association, Joseph Krysztawkiewicz, of Buffalo, President of the so-called 3rd District of Falcons, Mr. and Mrs. George B. Draper, the latter now on the staff of the Rochester Corporation Counsel, Mr. and Mrs. William T. Noonan, then a high official of the Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburgh Railway and Colonel Brown, the Masonic parade marshal, through whose friendly offices, Falcons were for many years accorded a favored place in the line of march of Memorial Day processions. To some extent, therefore, it would seem, that this event marked an awakened interest on the part of non-Polish Rochester in the activities and accomplishments of the growing Polish community.

In a sense also, the signal growth of the Falcon Society at this time calls attention to the name of its President, Stanley K. Kowalski, still a hardworking citizen of the local Polish contingent, to whose lot it has fallen to lead the organization not only during this auspicious time, but indeed during many of its most stirring periods. A native Pole born under Austrian occupation, Kowalski had sought American shores in 1884, and took up permanent residence in Rochester in 1907. He has held the Falcon presidency from 1912 to

1914, 1916 to 1917, and again during the year 1923. His name may be found on the roster of numerous Polish organizations, local and national, and his ceaseless activity in the field of recruiting the Polish army units from this district forms a chapter in the story of wartime years without which any local account of those years would be incomplete.

The partial disintegration of the St. Stanislaus parish, besides stimulating the organization of these important secular groups, actually imparted fresh vigor to the growth of the parish itself. Among those who had remained faithful to the priest, an intense and unswerving loyalty had developed, lending strong momentum to the program in which Father Szadzinski was interested.

One of St. Stanislaus' most important societies, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, came into being on July 30, 1905, on the eve of the open quarrel. To its banner rallied forty-three staunch supporters of the pastor, under the original presidency of Mateusz Zagurski, and during the thirty years since its birth this organization has been a large factor in the prosperity and expansion of its parish. It is at present headed by George Warzocha.

For a number of years prior to the parish dissension, it had been the determination of Father Szadzinski to undertake the erection of a new church building, a project which, in fact, was launched during the most trying and unsettled days in the history of St. Stanislaus. Ground was broken in 1907 and on July 5, 1908, cornerstone ceremonies were held. In August, 1909, the building was solemnly dedicated by the Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hickey, Bishop of Rochester, and the dedication sermon presented by Rev.

Alexander Pitass of Buffalo. The distinguished Polish Bishop, Rt. Rev. Paul Rhode, of Green Bay, Wisconsin, also was present and pronounced the formal blessing. With this event, long cherished dreams of priest and parish became a reality, and the imposing church building, with its Roman-Byzantine spire at the corner of Norton Street and Hudson Avenue, has since effectively symbolized the permanence of St. Stanislaus in the life of its community and of Rochester.

Tragically associated with this significant event is the death of Father Szadzinski himself, which occurred almost simultaneously with the realization of his paramount ambition. The extraordinary burden which this task placed upon him, rendered infinitely more difficult by the distracting differences seething within the parish during this period, proved fatal to the health of the priest, who was confined to the sick room some time prior to the completion of the church edifice. Notwithstanding this handicap, he insisted upon directing all parish affairs personally from the bedside, so vital was his interest in finishing the work upon which his heart was set. The dedication procession was witnessed by him from the window of the rectory, while sitting in a wheel chair, and on August 27th, 1909, but a few days later, he died. (25)

The career of Father Szadzinski, so thoroughly identified with the single parish in which he served, is curiously interesting and cannot but prove increasingly

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(25) An impression is current among some older residents of the Polish community to the effect that Father Szadzinski's death was in part the result of an accident which occurred during an inspection by him of the partially completed church edifice. It has been impossible to verify this supposition, however.

significant as years pass. The extraordinary tenacity of purpose which he displayed in the face of trying obstacles, his dogged devotion to the growth and establishment of the tiny church which had been placed in his charge, constitute a distinct and valuable contribution to community life, typifying, as these qualities do, so much that is desirable and necessary in the development of civic responsibility.

During the years immediately succeeding Father Szadzinski's death, the affairs of St. Stanislaus were ably administered by Rev. Helminiak, a former assistant, and in June, 1910, Rev. Ignatius Klejna, a native of Dabrowka, Poland, was appointed its permanent rector. Father Klejna [26] enjoyed a long and prosperous pastorate, and guided the affairs of the parish through the troublesome years of the war, during which time he greatly endeared himself to the Polish community and to Rochester. Further building projects were undertaken by him, notably the St. Stanislaus convent at 919 Norton Street, completed in August, 1915, and the present rectory on St. Stanislaus Street, completed in 1918. [27]

These years were somewhat distinguished also by the expansion of local commercial ventures. Shops and stores were enlarged and rendered sufficiently attractive to draw much patronage from outside the community. Notable among new establishments was the bakery of

(26) In non-Polish circles this name has been spelled "Kleina", a concession permitted by the priest for convenience, in view of his wide interest and activity in civic affairs generally.

(27) The death of Father Klejna on Sept. 22, 1934, was announced while this volume was on the press. His remains were brought to St. Stanislaus, where his funeral was held, and were interred in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery.

Stanley Dukat, founded in 1903, which became well known for the quality of its delicacies throughout north-eastern Rochester. In 1910, Dukat became associated with Walter Wojtczak, who later (1921) purchased the business, and now maintains it as one of the best known independent bakeries in Rochester. Both of these men have played important parts in the public life of their community. Following his departure from the bakery business, Dukat became connected with a number of pretentious commercial ventures in the Polish settlement and his family is well known in the city. Mention of him will recall to many Rochesterians the name of Emily Dukat, his daughter, a violinist of great promise whose untimely death is still mourned by her many associates among local musicians. Wojtczak is well known in this city not only for the business in which he is engaged, but as having received in 1931, at the hands of Pope Pius XI the Order of St. Gregory, becoming one of the first five communicants of the Rochester Diocese to enjoy this distinguished recognition.

The period herein treated is further marked by the greater organized interest in community music. Presumably, much of this stimulus proceeded from the enthusiasm of the musician, Franciszek Piorczynski, a native Pole who took up residence here in 1892 and served as organist of St. Stanislaus Church from 1907 until his death in 1919. The Star Society of Girl Singers was organized by him in January, 1909, a choral group which, although short-lived (discontinued 1911), proved extraordinarily active in the pursuit of its musical ambitions. On June 14th of the same year (1909) also under the baton of Piorczynski, the well known Echo

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP, ECHO SINGING SOCIETY. BACK ROW, left to right, Edward Sypniewski, Leon Badura, Eugeniusz Oszywa, Michal Dobosz; MIDDLE ROW, left to right, Maryan Szatkowski, Kazimierz Pilznianski, Wladyslaw Bartczak, Boleslaw Naglik, Walenty Jablonski; FRONT ROW, left to right, Antoni Wardynski, Jozef Kuzminski, Franciszek Piorczynski, Antoni Paprocki, Jan Chlebowski, Stanislaw Binkowski, Ignacy Pilznienski.

Singing Society came into being. This group adopted parliamentary formality in its structure, electing as president Joseph Kuzminski, and has occasionally supplemented musical functions with the addition of dramatics and allied social activities.

The Echo Society has, in fact, become one of Rochester's foremost musical groups, and its participation is frequently enlisted in civic celebrations of one sort or another. One of the most colorful and effective presentations in the elaborate Shakespearean tercentenary of 1916 was organized and presented under its auspices, and its members have proved on numerous occasions their enthusiastic and tireless interest in the finished performance of choral music for the benefit not only

ECHO MUSICAL SOCIETY BUILDING (1934),
SOBIESKI STREET, ROCHESTER.

of the Polish community but that of the city at large. On November 20, 1920, this organization incorporated as "Rochester Echo Singing Association, Inc." and in July, 1933, began the construction of its new building, now complete, pictured herein.

Musical expression was further advanced on January 6, 1912, by the organization of Moniuszko Singing Circle [28] with Michael Klosowski as president. One of the first societies to enter community life from the new St. Casimir parish, the Circle has enjoyed a long and active career. Its serious efforts have been confined principally to the national and religious chorals characteristic of old Poland, a singularly fruitful field for musical exploration.

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(28) Named for Moniuszko, the Polish composer of vocal and choral music, well known for his opera "Halka".

September 1, 1913 saw the initial meeting of Chor Ludowy, or People's Choir, of which Antoni Bogdziewicz became president and Casimir Baranowski director. To a large extent this choir was the outgrowth of the Socialist and allied groups interested in the Polish People's Library. For a number of years its musical development proceeded slowly, for lack of suitable accommodations, but with the acquisition by its sponsors of the building at 818 Hudson Avenue, which later became People's Hall, regular rehearsals began and the society soon took its place among the other musical clubs. Of late years the choir has interested itself in the community instruction of Polish-American children, an enterprise which has occupied its attention somewhat to the exclusion of music.

Begun as small neighborhood aggregations, these groups have, in the passing of time, proved significant for the manner in which their work has brought the Polish settlement into contact with the city, and helped to make it an integral factor in Rochester life. The keen interest in music, which seems to have distinguished the city of Rochester from earliest times, has offered for the expansion and recognition of such organizations opportunities which do not often exist in large American communities.

The period from 1890 through 1910 also brought to Rochester an increasingly large number of concerts and other artistic presentations by Polish artists of national and international fame. Joseph Sliwinski, the pianist, played in 1894, and the frequent visits of Paderewski were becoming traditional at this time. Madame Modjeska, whose dramatic career was now drawing to a close, honored the city with no less than four "positively farewell engagements" during the six years

1895-1901. Investigation shows that the Rochester Polish settlement now was taking an alert interest in these events and had begun to lend its wholehearted support to their success.

Any consideration of the avenues through which the early Polish community established greater identity with Rochester as a city must include mention of a modest group of youngsters from the vicinity of St. Stanislaus Church, assembled in 1902 to form our first Polish baseball team, the Hudson Stars. The outgrowth at first of that natural interest in the great American game with

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP, HUDSON STARS BASEBALL TEAM. STANDING, left to right, Frank Paprocki, Ladislaus Kotwas, John Bernacki, John Plica, Andrew Gorzadzielski, Michael Lipinski, Joseph Balcerak. SEATED, left to right, Frank Kwiatkowski, Ladislaus Budny, Joseph Paprocki, Casimir Mrzywka, Waclaw Murawski.

which all youth inevitably becomes infected in this country, this club soon wearied of impromptu games in the vacant lots of its own neighborhood and cast down the gauntlet before other nines in and about Rochester.

Some of the earliest close friendships developed between Polish-Americans and Americans of other backgrounds at this time and can be traced to the influence of this and other ventures of its kind originating soon afterward.

In deference to the baseball prowess achieved by the Hudson Stars, the famous season of 1903 should not go unrecorded, in which the banner of victory was won in thirty-five of the thirty-six games played. Perhaps the outstanding feature of this season was the game with an East Rochester team, forfeited to the Stars by their opponents in the fifth inning with the score 35-0, when Charles Budny of the winning team batted with such superlative zeal that the ball disappeared completely and was never found thereafter.

This interesting baseball team is further distinguished for its leader in 1903, Frank J. Paprocki, who later won numerous laurels in the field of sports and in 1912 became a pitcher with the Baltimore Orioles, a career which was abruptly interrupted by an injury to his arm. Paprocki has been intimately identified with amateur and professional sports in Rochester and Western New York for many years, and became in 1916 one of the organizers of the old Rochester National baseball team, the record of which is well known to local sportsmen.

Investigation of community activity during the first years of the twentieth century discloses another interesting trend in the direction of peculiarly American institutions. This is the remarkable interest which appears to have been taken in the purchase of insurance. It is likely that this circumstance is not altogether coincidental. The fact that such protection usually accompanied

membership in the various societies is novel, and inquiry reveals that such groups sought by introducing this feature, not so much to attract members as to justify their existence in the eyes of the Church or similar powerful agencies which might otherwise question their motives. It is, moreover, to be observed that the factional turmoil resulting in the division of St. Stanislaus parish seriously disturbed that sense of personal security which had characterized the more native European element in the Polish settlement, helping also to awaken interest in the security offered by strongly financed insurance corporations.

In fact the first organizations to adopt insurance programs were church societies. Prior to 1908, Our Lady of Perpetual Help Society in St. Stanislaus seems to have been the chief, if not the only group possessing this feature. Two other St. Stanislaus societies, that of St. Lawrence, (Oct. 9, 1909) and Polish Roman Catholic Union, 799 (April 3, 1914, with Frank Kocinski as President) apparently originated with the insurance idea definitely in mind. The latter, first chapter of the Polish Roman Catholic Union to organize in this city, is an outgrowth of its national parent, the Roman Catholic Union in the United States. This is a closely knit association of Polish Roman Catholic laymen, devoted to the preservation and advancement of parish fealty. There is evidence indicating that the Union came into being partially as a deterrent to the influence of dissenting groups involved in church differences with the Polish National Alliance. However, the Rochester chapter did not organize until some time after local phases of this upheaval had subsided, and therefore has never been

identified with these matters. It has, in fact, proved a powerful stimulus to the growth and expansion of St. Stanislaus and has been a factor in the creation of other societies, such as Kosciuszko Benevolent Society, R. C. U. 114 and Group 1250 (Mar. 5, 1933), designated St. Leonard's Society, which is a part of the younger parish of St. Theresa. The original group still exists and Anthony Bednarski is its current president.

The Polish Workers' Sick and Mutual Aid Association, organized in October, 1910, under the leadership of Anthony Kaszuba, has been from the first an exclusively insurance movement. As its name implies, this group sprang largely from the Socialist and allied clubs whose concerted action has done so much to develop community life. The insurance activities of this unit have been signally successful and recent corporate expansion has been undertaken for the purpose of amplifying the benefits which its membership enjoys. At the present time its president is a woman, Mrs. Marya Kaczmarczyk.

An entirely independent group organized with insurance as a prime motive in February, 1912, under the presidency of Kasimir Dembowski, who was also chosen its president at the last annual meeting. (29) The name Nowe Zycie, or New Life, chosen by this society, is somewhat original and suggests an interest in more social phases of endeavor. The first minutes recorded by Nowe Zycie are striking in their elaborate attempt to make the society acceptable to all factions, and here is revealed perhaps the first of the Rochester Polish organizations

(29) Dembowski recently met death in an automobile accident, and the affairs of this society are at present administered by Joseph Zajon.

which opened its membership to non-Polish Slavs. The single curious exception applies to clergymen, a circumstance naively reminiscent of earlier years. This society incorporated in February, 1921, as New Life Benevolent Association, and celebrated successfully its twentieth anniversary October 16, 1932. Of late years the self-education of its members has played a prominent part in its program.

A major catastrophe to the community which occurred May 2, 1913 undoubtedly raised insurance consciousness to a high pitch. On that day the well-known Zielinski lumber yard, with adjoining properties, was completely destroyed by fire. This conflagration, in fact, ranks among the famous fires in Rochester's history, bringing about serious injury to a number of firemen and causing property damage conservatively estimated at $200,000. Starting from unknown sources, the blaze was discovered by a workman early in the afternoon. Weather conditions and the character of the property, however, permitted too great a headway for timely action, and the entire northeast quarter of the city was soon in danger from a flaming furnace fifteen acres in extent. Excitement ran high when it was feared that St. Stanislaus Church had caught, a rumor which fortunately proved false. Numerous buildings in the vicinity and several houses were almost totally destroyed, leaving their occupants homeless.

Side by side with newspaper accounts of the fire appear insurance advertisements urging property owners of the neighborhood to protect their homes, an appeal somewhat fraught with irony, since accounts of efforts to

obtain insurance prior to the fire reveal that failure to do so was occasioned chiefly by the prohibitive rates imposed by insurance companies due to the proximity of the lumber yard. It is a fact, however, that fire insurance became much more general in the Polish settlement at this time.

Apropos of community participation generally in the city life of Rochester, it may seem unusual that not until 1914 did there exist any organized group of a partisan political nature. This reluctance to organize politically is explained largely by the characteristic jealousy with which the Pole guards his right to change political opinions, and his consequent unwillingness to place himself "in line", lest allegiances should arise which might interfere with independent thought. To some extent this conclusion is borne out by the career of the Polish Citizens' Social Republican Club, which first met in 1914 with Andrew Gzeszczak as president, a group apparently committed to the concerted advocacy of municipal measures beneficial to the Polish section. Not many years had passed, however, before the society discarded its partisan character and now its doors are open to members of all political parties. John Jagla is now president and permanent headquarters have been established at 1157 Hudson Avenue.

The expansion in Rochester of the Polish National Alliance during these years has somewhat interesting phases. On February 13, 1909, Group 1020 was chartered by the national organization, under the presidency of Wawrzyniec Paluczynski. Considering the recent turbulence of P. N. A. relations with the Church, it is surprising to find that this Group chose St. Stanislaus

Hall as its meeting place and has continued to meet there throughout its existence. Theodore Jablonski is now president. A year later John Adamski organized P. N. A. Group 1145, which elected Stephen Mroz first president. This chapter, which still meets at its original home (Markowski Hall, Gilmore St. and Hudson Avenue), declared certain specific objects worthy of note, and indicative of a somewhat practical, if all-inclusive patriotism. These were the patronage of Polish-American business, the promotion of European Polish independence, and the assumption of American citizenship by its members. The latter pronouncement, although implied in the constitutions and early minutes of several previous societies, apparently had not been definitely incorporated into the charter of any Polish organization in Rochester until this time. Excellent work has been accomplished in this field, moreover, and Group 1145, now headed by Victor Podsiadlow, is an active factor in P. N. A. affairs in Rochester.

On April 10, 1910, there was organized the latest of the Polish National Alliance chapters to form in this city, Group 1200. This is the only exclusively female branch in Rochester, and has selected the designation "Daughters of Poland", by which it is generally known. Organized by Mrs. S. K. Kowalska, its first president was Wladyslawa Sosnowska, whose office is now held by Agnes Ziebro. Group 1200 has during the years rendered incalculable service to the Polish community in several directions. The consolidation of the feminine point of view which resulted from its organization aided greatly in adjusting differences left over from the parish dissension, and united action on the part of Polish women

A PART OF THE MEMBERSHIP, P. N. A. GROUP 1200, "DAUGHTERS OF POLAND", POSED FOR 20TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, 1930. BACK ROW, left to right: Teresa Lelek, Florentyna Milosz, Teresa Jablonska, Teresa Lubkiewicz, Agnieszka Ziebro, Cecylia Zielińska, Weronika Szarlacka, Jadwiga Pioreczynska, Agnieszka Corecka, Stanislawa Dziegielewska, Franciszka Kubacka, Marya Kukura. MIDDLE ROW, left to right: Helena Techmanska, Genowefa Ostrowska, Bronislawa Jasnowska, Antonina Dominiak, Bronislawa Kaleta, Paulina Lossowska, Anna Tanska, Marya Kolanska, Anna Anuszkiewicz, Jozefa Luczak, Wanda Pilznienska, Marya Pogoda, Marya Zemel. FRONT ROW, left to right: Zofia Pietrzak, Eleonora Frantz, Aniela Antczak, Stanislawa Lendzioszek, Marya Dylewska, Eugenia Dembowska, Pelagia Skiba, Antonina Kowalska, Alexandra Dukat, Marya Orlowska, Wladyslawa Kaminska.

in Rochester received considerable stimulus from the fact of its existence. This group now meets in Falcon Hall, and numbers one hundred and fifty-nine members.

The growth of Polish population, which was substantial during the first decade of the century, brought to the city a sprinkling of Poles of a class never numerous but becoming increasingly active. These were Polish Baptists. The Baptist appears to have been the first of the Protestant sects to establish organized congregations

REV. LUDWIG ADAMUS, FOUNDER AND FIRST PASTOR OF THE ROCHESTER POLISH BAPTIST CHURCH

in European Poland, and immigrants of that faith settling in the United States did not readily associate themselves with the Roman or National Catholic parishes usually found in the Polish communities of American cities, preferring to set up modest organizations of their

CHRIST POLISH BAPTIST CHURCH, HUDSON AVE. AND ROYCROFT DRIVE, ROCHESTER

own. In Rochester the Polish Baptist movement began some time before 1910 under the sponsorship of Rev. Ludwig Adamus, who had been a divinity student at the local seminary and who was ordained in that year.

The interest and assistance of the Baptist Union of Monroe County was enlisted, and in 1911 the church building pictured herein was erected, being designated as the Polish Baptist Mission of Rochester, which became an independent church on October 5, 1913.

Rev. Adamus served actively as its pastor from 1911 until 1919, after which Rev. Michal S. Lesik assumed the pastorate until 1922. Temporary ministers were thereafter employed until 1926 when Rev. John Czajkowski received permanent appointment. It was during his incumbency that Tow. Promien, or Society of the Ray, was organized, an interesting group concerning which more will appear in later pages. At present Rev.

John Gilewicz is pastor, having come to the congregation in 1932. Although small, the Baptist group is a loyal and active one in the community and its presence is particularly encouraging when it is considered that there are but seventeen Polish Baptist congregations in the United States.

Analysis of the developments sketched in preceding pages, and devoted for the most part to the years following the parish upheaval discloses the fact that a kind of assimilation en masse of the Polish community was now gradually transpiring. It is apparent, for example, that the fever to achieve self-expression through organization—an impulse characteristic of most Slavic groups in the United States—was constantly providing new opportunities for the adoption of American ideas. As new aggregations formed, the objects of their existence and the parliamentary mechanics of their creation reflect habits of thought and action upon which life in the new world inevitably was stamping its impress. Reactions to events within the community were acquiring the more practical, cosmopolitan flavor that comes from life in the United States and contact with its varied racial and national backgrounds. Moreover, in view of the extraordinary cohesion of the Rochester Polish settlement, which has persisted in the face of many opposing factors arising within the settlement itself, the conclusion may well be drawn that assimilation of this nature derives a certain stability and vigor from the very fact that its processes were evolutionary and therefore imperceptible during the years of their operation.

Undoubtedly the controlling factor in the unusual exclusiveness of Polish groups, not only in Rochester but

in all parts of the world to which the Pole emigrated, has been the concrete determination to play a part in the eventual restoration of nationality to the Polish state. The supreme confidence of the Polish people in the ultimate rebirth of Poland, and the infinite patience with which this event was awaited by successive generations of Poles for a period of over one hundred years constitute an astonishing miracle of national patriotism, sometimes difficult for the nationals of other lands to comprehend. When, however, this phase of Polish temperament is perceived in its full force and vitality, much misunderstanding is at once clarified and many seeming vagaries of Polish viewpoint are seen to bear a consistent relationship to each other in an inspiring struggle toward the attainment of a tremendous ideal.

Events had been for some time preparing the stage on which Poland was to demonstrate her devotion to this ideal, and in its own fashion the city's Polish community had now made ready to prove itself to Rochester. No less world-wide than local, the issue presently was to arise in which the Pole in America should find at last the opportunity of proving his loyalty to the American republic, a loyalty which, in the unique and significant setting of affairs that followed, was finally measured by standards established by his ancestors a hundred years earlier upon European battlefields.

PART IV

PART IV

WHATEVER the angle from which the story of the Pole in the World War is approached, one fact immediately assumes outstanding importance, and remains at all times the pivotal circumstance around which that story revolves. This is the farsighted premonition of war which imbued the Polish mind for years before any sign of impending trouble had become generally obvious to the rest of the world, a premonition pointing with uncanny accuracy not only to the fact of war, but to the quarter in which it would arise and in marked degree, to the political alignments proceeding from it.

It is inevitable, of course, that Polish viewpoint should regard the partitions themselves as underlying provocations to future disturbance in Europe, yet the upheavals perpetrated by Bonaparte in 1812, the revolution of 1830, and finally, the fruitless holocaust of 1863, succeeded in impressing the enlightened Polish mind with the conviction that mere war or even wholesale revolution could not be expected to produce the desired result. As late as 1912, the outbreak of war between the Balkan states and Turkey neither fired the Polish imagination nor gave rise to any widespread feeling among Poles that the long awaited hour had arrived. Through generations of political bondage and frustrated hope, the Pole had come to realize with almost strategic precision that war, in

the only intelligible sense of that term, must arise among the powers responsible for the partition of Poland.

With the exception of certain radical factions, the natural supposition was taken for granted that freedom would at last be achieved only by united allegiance to some one of the ruling governments and against the others on its behalf. As may be expected, this assumption furnished the incentive for considerable argument, which flourished with even greater vehemence among communities of diversified Poles in foreign lands than among native Poles, who seldom mingled with their compatriots on terms of free speech. (29)

When it is considered that these matters were not merely the abstract conclusions of political thinkers in high places, but common subjects of daily conversation among Poles in all walks of life, it will be readily understood how thoroughly adapted was the Polish mind to the intelligent and accurate interpretation of the maze of events and conditions from which the World War ultimately resulted.

The opening of the twentieth century found all Europe developing the sort of transitional political restlessness that precedes upheaval. The realization that political systems, made over from the crumbling ruins of feudalism, were soon to become outworn and unstable in the face of rapidly advancing material civilization, was beginning to obtrude itself disturbingly upon the he-

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(29) Residents of the Rochester community recall having heard arguments of this nature, occasionally indulged in during the wee small hours of some convivial session, and which provoked pugilistic enthusiasm over the respective merits of the Romanoffs or Hapsburgs, as possible protectors of a new Poland.

reditary governments on the continent. The need for new alliances was felt, and the business of forming them became manifest in numerous small changes of attitude and policy which were nowhere more evident than in the three divisions of the Polish state.

From the moment that Austria began to take active interest in the vulnerability of her Russian frontier—which was, of course, the boundary of her Polish domains, Poland perceived that for which she had been waiting over a hundred years. Austrian strategy involved a liberalization of her Polish policy, the consequent organization of forces under Polish colors, and eventually almost complete military autonomy. It was, in fact, the military character of the concessions granted which awakened the immediate interest of Polish Socialist groups, who were being united gradually about the powerful, and at that time somewhat mysterious figure of Josef Pilsudski. The intense and utterly irrepressible determination of Pilsudski to devote his life to the ideal of national restoration had captivated the imagination of the Polish people, and his famous decision to hold with the Austrian crown, since under it Poland was permitted to form organized troops, turned the eyes of thousands of Poles hopefully in the direction of Austria.

Emigrant Poles the world over were, in less perceptible ways, aiding the cause by organizing themselves in comparatively non-military fashion. The various political environments in which they were placed, however, rendered open expressions of allegiance more or less inconvenient, and affectually deterred them from complete and immediate adherence to the support of the Austrian program,

a development, the effect of which it is interesting to consider, and which may well have contributed advantages, then undreamed of, to Poland's ultimate fortunes.

In 1910, commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald, a great conclave of Polish leaders from all parts of the world gathered in Krakow. (30) Here, amid much ceremonious demonstration and significant reference, a monument was unveiled to King Wladyslaw, hero of the historic battle, the gift of Paderewski. Singular liberality was displayed by the Austrian government in permitting this assemblage to meet and conduct its deliberations free from the interference of local authorities. The imminence of world conflict was freely discussed and the possible courses of Polish participation openly debated. Particular attention was directed to the further militarization of Falcon activities, and Falcon societies the world over were advised to incorporate military exercises into their curricula of athletic activities.

This became, perhaps, the first occasion of its kind to have tangible results in the Rochester community. Nest 52, the Rochester Falcon group, had now begun to flourish conspicuously and was closely affiliated with the Polish National Alliance as Group 783. Although not yet equipped with a building of its own, the consummation of this project was presently to be achieved and even now

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(30) The historic Battle of Grunwald (Prussia, 1410) marked the expulsion from early Poland of the Teutonic Knights, so-called, by Wladyslaw I, first of the Jagiellon kings.

constituted a live issue. Accordingly, the momentous conclusions that flowed from the Grunwald celebration stirred local enthusiasm to a high pitch, of which the almost immediate result was the adoption of military organization and the institution of military training as the accepted form of Falcon exercise. Very little in the way of practical training was omitted from the program now undertaken. Formation drills were first perfected followed by the exhaustive consideration of topography and field tactics.

The minutes of local Falcon meetings held February 14 and March 11, 1913, are instinct with the atmosphere of impending war. The meeting of February 14, presided over by Joseph Paprocki, then President, became a solemn muster of willing recruits, at which twenty-four members signed the specific pledge to be ready when the call should come, a pledge which was fulfilled in all but a very few instances. At this meeting the motion was made and carried to procure an arsenal of eight rifles for practice purposes. This number was deemed insufficient and at the meeting of March 11 the purchase of twenty additional guns was decided upon. Here, too, it was determined to provide members with uniforms, funds for which were in part raised by the production of a play under the sponsorship of Marion Wojnowski, the contractor, in the St. Paul Street Labor Lyceum, then a new building. At the March 11 meeting, Stanley K. Kowalski was again chosen President, and training in military tactics was placed in charge of Frank Rzepecki, not now a resident of Rochester.

FALCON GROUP ENGAGED IN MILITARY TRAINING
NEAR EAST ROCHESTER, NEW YORK (1913)

More graphically convincing than any verbal description, perhaps, is the photograph here published, which shows a group of Falcons in actual field practice, guns in hand. Expeditions of this nature were a regular feature of Falcon activity, the lands used being those of Polish farmers in the immediate vicinity of Rochester, opened willingly by their proprietors for this purpose. The picture to which reference is made was taken near East Rochester in 1913, fully a year and a half before the beginning of the World War. (31)

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(31) It must not be forgotten that exercises of this nature were being engaged in by Falcon societies in many parts of the world, notably Brazil and China.

GROUP OF FALCONETTES, IN UNIFORM (1913). TOP ROW (standing), left to right, Konstancia Figlerowicz, Wiktoria Zagata; SECOND ROW FORWARD (standing), left to right, Wanda Czerniak, Zofia Zagata, Marya Mielcarek, Marta Stenclik; THIRD ROW FORWARD (seated), left to right, Marya Dylewska, Anna Czaban, Marta Chudzińska, Anna Sykut, Marya Zajaczek; FOREGROUND, left to right, Marya Sokolska, Stanislawa Dukowska, Instructures.

The photograph of a group of Falconettes, herein reprinted, is interesting and will serve to show that the warlike enthusiasm of the time was not confined to members of the male sex. This feminine auxiliary organization actually procured uniforms and under the direction of its leader, who may be seen in the foreground of the picture, performed drills and delved extensively into the subject of military operations during an assumed state of hostility.

The so-called Balkan War with Turkey in 1912, although not regarded as the crucial moment, was utilized by European Poles as a compelling justification for further concessions on the part of interested governments. Through the immediate efforts of John Jaworski, former Polish member of the Austrian Parliament, a convention

of leaders assembled in the spring of 1913 at Zakopane (Austrian Poland) with the avowed purpose of establishing a force and fixing upon a Polish policy in the early event of war, which now was seen to be inevitable. This convention assumed permanent status as United Organization for the Independence of Poland (Skonfederowane Stronictwa Niepodleglej Polski), and, in its open appeal to European Falcon societies, may be said to have taken the first active step in the formation of the Polish Legion in Austria.

This significant event, from which so much later proceeded, represents more especially the approach of the Socialist party toward the Polish problem. It, and similar conclaves of later date, usually were held under Socialist auspices and actually, if not ostensibly, derived their essential inspiration from the personality and program of Pilsudski. Indeed, during the preceding year (1912) the Polish parties of Galicia had published a majority declaration naming him their leader, and Pilsudski himself had already begun the surreptitious accumulation of army funds as early as 1909. Under the influence of this powerful moving spirit the Polish Socialist wing, operating in Europe, made its objectives definite and specific at a somewhat earlier date than other interested parties not so close to the actual scene of conflict, and was therefore accorded at the outset a position of leadership.

Following the Zakopane conference, and in November of the same year (1913) a second convention took place in Krakow. In a sense, this became the more important of the two, since out of its deliberations the strongly

unified Naczelny Komitet (Chief Committee) came into being, the paramount object of its existence being the collection of money with which to finance the Polish Legion, now rapidly forming in Austria. The Krakow convention is interesting for the extraordinary freedom which attended its expressions of policy; to it came Poles from all Europe, whose traditional inhibitions were fast disappearing beneath the friendly advances of the Austrian government, which was now thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of Russian hostility. It is said that Japanese military experts attended some of the Krakow sessions.

The message of this convention was brought somewhat unofficially to America by Bronislaw Kulakowski, a prominent European Pole, who had come to the United States some time previously for the formal purpose of attending unveiling ceremonies in Washington of the Kosciuszko-Pulaski monument. Closely following his arrival, Naczelny Komitet communicated from Poland with the Polish Socialist Alliance in New York City, and an American convention was called almost immediately which met toward the close of 1913 in Pittsburgh. The invitation was general and all-inclusive, so much so, that when the body of delegates finally took seats, practically all shades of Polish-American thought or opinion were present.

Fired by the encouraging news from Krakow, and under the stress of patriotic emotions pent up for over one hundred years, this congress succeeded for a time in raising the ideal of unity among Polish-Americans to an almost unbelievable climax. Here all considerations were

temporarily laid aside in a wild demonstration of joyful anticipation. Some of the more conservative delegates still recall with incredulous amazement the vision of Socialist leaders and Roman Catholic priests engaged in open and boisterous embrace. Whatever division may later have taken place, whatever differences of opinion may later have developed, it seems certain that the realization of mutual identity in a common purpose and its timely reiteration at this juncture did much that was indispensible toward vitalization and direction of the Polish cause in America.

The instant result of this meeting was the formation of Komitet Obrony Narodowy (32) which at once assumed supervision over all activities of preparation then going forward in America. Particular attention was paid to the expansion of Falcon training and facilities, and a well-organized program of insuring financial support was undertaken.

A comparatively short time had elapsed, when the natural reaction from these events took place. Whether correctly or not, the Church party soon began to perceive that the Defense Committee, however laudable its motives, unmistakably functioned under the titular leadership of the Socialist party. This awakening perception cooled the ardor of the clergy, and necessarily alienated a substantial proportion of devout Polish Catholics. Old sources of argument between Socialism and the National Alliance began to revive. The eventual outbreak of war in August 1914 and the marked degree of sympathy with the

(32) Commonly referred to as KON: members of this faction were sometimes derisively called "Koniowce" by non-sympathizers, a play upon the Polish word "kon", or horse.

Allied cause, which developed in the United States over the Belgian situation, threw Polish-American circles generally into the greatest confusion. Some semblance of unity might have been maintained even in the face of these difficulties, however, had it been possible to obtain reliable information concerning the course of events in European Poland. For some mysterious reason this information now came only in the form of desultory and unconfirmed rumors, a situation which continued for several years thereafter, to the great embarrassment of Polish agencies in this country.

Defection from the ranks of the Defense Committee soon took concrete form, when it became evident that large numbers of Polish-Americans were unfriendly to any form of understanding with the Central Powers. On September 6, 1914, barely a month following the declaration of war, Falcon organizations of the United States, convening in Buffalo, formally withdrew from the Committee. So far as concerned active military preparation on American soil, therefore, the Committee was thus divested of its most important branch. From this time its efforts were devoted primarily to the accumulation and transmittal of money for the use of the Austrian Legion of Poles, which, in fact, was becoming a powerful army unit under the guidance of Pilsudski, although this was, in the United States, merely a matter of rumor and conjecture at the time. (33)

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(33) There are strong indications, nevertheless, that men actually were recruited from the United States for service in this Legion, through the connivance of German and Austrian sympathizers, and the falsification of passports. Activity of this character, however, did not reach the Rochester settlement, so far as is known.

On September 25, 1914, steps were taken by the major Polish-American organizations to establish headquarters, as a result of which there was formed the Polski Centralny Komitet Ratunkowy (Polish Central Committee for Relief). This, as will be observed from its name, adopted less specific objectives at first than KON, and was enabled to work more freely in harmony with United States' neutrality. A like organization already was functioning in Switzerland as the Polish General Committee under the somewhat distinguished leadership of Ignace Paderewski and Henry Sienkiewicz. The American Relief Committee on January 21, 1915, affiliated with the General Committee.

It was the consistent hope of the pro-Allied Poles, of which the Swiss General Committee became the acknowledged mouthpiece, to undertake the mobilization of a Polish army against the Central Powers. Abortive attempts in this direction were made very early in the War by "Les Chausseurs," a French contingent of Polish Falcons, which attempts became the source of diplomatic embarrassment between the French and Russian governments and were officially suppressed. (34)

In 1916, Paderewski returned to the United States from Europe, he and Sienkiewicz having by this time fully determined to hold with the Allied cause in the hope, thereby, of insuring action favorable to Polish re-

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(34) The story of "Les Chausseurs", who were assigned to attack a body of German infantry, which developed to consist of Poles conscripted out of Posen, is one of the most thrilling tales of the war. It is related that the "French" Chausseurs entered into battle singing the ancient national anthem of Poland, at which the "German" Poles refused to meet the attack, approaching the "enemy" with open arms, and throwing the entire line into confusion.

storation at the close of the war. On September 12, 1916 a subcommittee of the Polish Relief body already mentioned was established in Washington as the National Department. Thus, finally, the pro-Allied movement became completely articulate under a closely knit and well organized head. With Paderewski himself its moving spirit, and James C. White, the American editor and publisher its executive leader, the National Department functioned smoothly and efficiently from this time forth.

The progress of the war toward the eve of the Russian Revolution had brought the Polish question into prominent consideration on both sides of the front. Various unforeseen objectives developed among belligerent powers, which it was obviously impossible to pursue with success in the absence of acquiescence and support on the part of Polish subjects. In the face of these necessities concessions were granted and promises made. Russia held out the bait of national liberty to her Polish territories in return for their wholehearted military support against the Polish territories of Germany and Austria. Austria had practically guaranteed freedom to her Polish territories if they would maintain active hostility to Russian Poland. Germany was reluctant, but the shrewd and unfaltering persistence of Pilsudski had at last exacted like guaranties from Berlin. In the midst of this increasingly perplexed situation, the Polish nation slowly was developing the conviction of strategic independence arising from within, and unrelated to the belated promises of war-harassed governments.

The Russian Revolution early in 1917 threw all European diplomacy into a tumult of uncertainty and had

the instant effect of removing Allied inhibitions against the assertion of the Polish cause. The functions of the Swiss General Committee merged, with numerous other Polish movements on the continent, in Polski Komitet Narodowy w Paryzu (Polish National Committee in Paris), established August 15, 1917, but four months following the declaration of war by the United States, and the organization of the Polish Army in France openly proceeded. The Parisian Committee was quickly accorded official recognition by Allied nations from which it rapidly attained the status of a provisional Polish government. General Josef Haller was appointed by it to the command of all Polish forces cooperating with the Allies and the adjustment of military rank with relation to the armies of other governments undertaken. Civil consulates were established in various important cities and every effort put forth toward the speedy consolidation of pro-Polish thought and activity.

As in every Polish community the world over, the breathless succession of events just described was reflected in the contemporaneous activity of the Rochester Polish group. It is perhaps difficult for lifelong Rochesterians, not then familiar with the growing Slavic center, to realize the almost electric vitality of the Polish issue, affecting the lives of a goodly section of our population, while at the time arousing so little general interest as hardly to warrant a single newspaper headline.

The Rochester KON chapter grew up overnight following the Pittsburgh convention of 1913, and for some time acted as the pivot about which Polish pre-war activity developed. Chief among its early functions were

the collection of funds and the coordination of Falcon training along essentially military lines. This period of ascendancy reached an abrupt conclusion, however, following the withdrawal of the National Falcon organization shortly after the outbreak of war. The defection from KON in Rochester was fairly complete, the number of members remaining after the break being negligible. The Committee continued to operate, however, and, insofar as its curtailed facilities permitted, enjoyed an active and fairly protracted existence.

Appeals from the Polish Relief agency in Washington were met wholeheartedly by the Rochester community. Despite the indubitably nationalistic motive behind this organization, it must not be supposed that its relief activities were in any sense an idle masquerade. Actual conditions in belligerent areas of the Polish territories were serious, especially in the matter of depleted food supplies, and the avoidance of a general famine had become an imperative problem. Collections were taken from time to time in Rochester and by the fall of 1916 a fund was accumulated which was presented to the national committee in the person of Paderewski, on the occasion of his concert at Convention Hall, November 16, 1916.

Perhaps at no time during the war period did local Polish feeling rise to such heights of nervous intensity as the evening of this concert. For the preceding week or more, the newspapers had contained frequent but conflicting and sketchy accounts of concessions declared by Austrian and German governments in the direction of Polish liberation. Imperial Russia was filling the

public press with vigorous denunciations of this action, couched in the impressive and high-sounding language employed by absolutism, and which appears so curiously futile in the light of subsequent events. Details, of no immediate interest to the general public, but of great importance to Polish readers, were of course, almost wholly lacking. It may be seen therefore, that the greatest excitement prevailed, especially in Rochester, where interest and conjecture were brought to a focus about the visit of Paderewski, so recently arrived from Poland.

An element of poignant tragedy also attended this occasion in the fact that two days previously there had occurred in Switzerland the death of Henry Sienkiewicz, news of which, it is said, reached Paderewski by cable on the day of his Rochester concert. The venerable age of Sienkiewicz, his world wide prestige as a writer, and his years of intimate association with the Polish cause, had combined to make him almost a legendary figure among Poles during the closing years of his life. His death at this crucial time left a sense of peculiar loss and was felt as a personal bereavement by his scattered countrymen the world over, for whom his faith and serene courage had been so long the guiding principle.

At the close of his recital, the pianist appeared backstage at Convention Hall and received at the hands of the Rochester Polish Committee (35) a purse containing one thousand dollars which had been collected for relief. The gracious reception which he accorded the Committee and the evident emotion with which the gift was received

(35) As accurately as it has been possible to determine, this Committee consisted of Adam Felerski, Stanley W. Dukat, Matthew Kowalski, Stanley K. Kowalski, Louis Kubiak, Adam Norwich, and Max Sosnowski.

climaxed an unforgettable occasion for local Poles. A few terse words spoken by Paderewski on conditions in his European homeland imbued the Rochester Slavic community with a vivid realization of the responsibilities to be shared and the realities to be faced during the important months and years following his visit.

Declaration of War by the United States in April, 1917 had one stabilizing effect upon the Polish situation, in that it removed the inhibitions imposed by nominal neutrality and permitted open action on the part of Polish groups antagonistic to the Central Powers. The large bloc of pro-Allied Poles, hitherto engaged in a kind of parliamentary warfare with KON, now took the reins of influence completely, and proceeded to unite all Polish thought behind the Allied cause. In some quarters, the differences between the ascendant group and KON developed into bitter controversy, resulting in Federal intervention officially disbanding KON groups as "pro-German" movements. In a large sense, of course, this was unjustified, for the motive of national liberation certainly controlled the activities of KON to as great an extent as was the case with any contemporary Polish organization, a fact which, at the time, unfortunately appeared less important than the more concrete animosities of the moment.

Shortly following America's declaration of war, local Falcons assumed titular leadership of Army mobilization in this area. As early as June, 1913, a Citizen's Pre-war Committee had been organized in Rochester, consisting of representatives from various local societies, the function of which was the consolidation of community activity

under a single head. This Committee now deferred to Falcon leadership and bent its efforts toward providing men. On October 13, 1917, Stanley K. Kowalski of Rochester, received telegraphic authority to open a recruiting office which opened in Falcon Hall and became Recruiting Unit No. 2 of the American Contingent, Polish Army in France. The local unit remained continuously in operation until February 1919 and recruited two hundred and fifty-eight men. Sixty-three of these were personally signed by Kowalski, who served in this capacity until mobilization was complete, long after the Armistice, and was transferred from time to time to Dunkirk, and Niagara Falls on like duty.

There also organized in 1917 a Rochester chapter of the "White Eagle Cross", a humanitarian and relief group similar in character and purpose to the Red Cross, and sponsored by Madame Paderewska. For some reason, however, movements of this nature failed to gather definite momentum among local Poles until the organization of the Gray Samaritans, of which further details will appear later.

As may be imagined, the impatient enthusiasm of the Poles to organize for war and the numerous practical steps already taken by them in 1917, resulted in some confusion with the national draft program. On April 3, 1917, three days before the formal Declaration of War, a national Falcon Convention was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., at which Paderewski proposed the immediate mobilization of any army of one hundred thousand Poles, the services of which were to be placed at the disposal of the United States government. This offer was declined by the authorities as were many similar offers at this time.

Such a plan, of course, was not altogethed a gratuitous sacrifice on the part of the Polish groups, for active co-operation with an established military machine had long been seen as a practical necessity to the organization of a workable Polish army. Failing of official sanction from the United States, therefore, the same overture was made to the Canadian government, with which feasible arrangements eventually were made. (36) Man power for the Polish unit was recruited from classes not eligible for service under the Federal Selective Service Act, the recruits thus obtained finding their way finally to Canada where they were trained by Canadian officers for the Polish Army in France.

Pending the completion of negotiations toward this end, numerous men already recruited were sent to the Polish National Alliance College at Cambridge Springs, Pa., where a training camp had been set up, and it was here that the first Rochester recruits received training. Thaddeus Gedgowd. Rochester's first, in fact, left for Cambridge Springs on March 1, 1917, prior to the War declaration. The inevitable delay attending

JULIAN BRZEZINSKI

(36) This proposal, in fact, had been made to Dominion authorities much earlier, at a time, however, when United States neutrality deterred the government of Canada from accepting it.

the establishment of draft machinery for the United States Army, for some weeks prevented authorized action by the local Polish organizers, and it was not until June that John Pospula, Wladyslaw Czaban, Wincenty Bancer and Wladyslaw Stugiewicz, of Rochester, also left for Cambridge Springs.

Of the two hundred and fifty-eight men recruited to the Polish army from Rochester, only two met death during hostilities, Julian Brzezinski and Louis Kościelny. Brzezinski had had extensive military training in German Poland before his emigration to America, having served three years in the Household Guard of the German Emperor. The death of Koscielny is immortalized in the World War Service Record of Rochester, where there is related the fact that, when his body was found, a tiny Stars and Stripes appeared sewn upon his clothing over his heart. Both of these patriots, by a singular coincidence, were connected with the same unit, the 5th Machine Gun Company of the 1st Regiment, Polish Legion, and are buried in France near the field in which their lives were sacrificed.

LOUIS KOSCIELNY

Two of the Rochester contingent to the Polish Army were decorated, as records show. Antoni Nogaj received

ANTONI NOGAJ

the Croix de Guerre from the Government of France, and John Pospula was awarded the Virtute Militari for bravery in an encounter with Budiennys Cavalry at the battle of Napadowka. This is the highest military honor in the gift of the Polish Government, and its presentation to Pospula was accompanied by the honorary commision of Captain.

Of the seven hundred or more local Slavs herein assumed to be Poles, who served in the United States army, examination of the war lists reveals the names of twenty-three who met death in action or as a result of active service. (37)

JOHN POSPULA

For a number of reasons, the records of participation in the

(37) Unfortunately, however, the Polish identity of the men listed cannot be established other than by characteristic names, or by reference to the recorded place of birth, and in the absence of more positive identification, the publication of a casualty list is deemed unwarranted.

World War on the part of Rochester Poles, unfortunately are not as complete as the statistician might wish them to be. The numerous Anglicized surnames, to say nothing of the plentiful instances in which entirely English or American surnames have been adopted arbitrarily, form a constant barrier to the compilation of accurate lists, a fact to which reference is made in the Rochester World War Service Record. The confusion which existed between the American drafted and the Polish recruited contingents also adds to the possibility of inaccuracy. Whatever categorical assertions are made, therefore, here or elsewhere, are continually subject to correction, as statistical facts, not hitherto established, may come to light.

Available data shows slightly more than seven hundred local Polish men as having served under the United States flag, aside from the total of two hundred and fifty-eight who joined the Polish Legion. Allowing for inevitable omissions, arising from causes mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the round total may be placed conservatively at one thousand.

An effort which has been made to establish the location in Europe of the various Rochester men at the close of the war, reveals the fact that Poles in general had become widely scattered among the Allied Forces. The army assembled in France by General Haller represented the first successful attempt to unite Polish troops in a given sector under a single command. Predominantly Polish contingents in the Allied armies were stationed far apart, an interesting indication of the characteristic hesitancy with which Allied governments embraced the idea of Polish restoration. This hesitancy also is observable in

many later events, and insofar as it may have expressed a common interest, doubtless arose from the fact that amicable adjustment of the Russian situation was momentarily expected, in which event the retraction of pro-Polish programs might well prove expedient, and the centralization of Polish troops an embarrassing problem.

The stimulus to the Polish program afforded by America's entry into the War and by the downfall of the Russian royalist government, besides enabling the literal consolidation of Polish troops, greatly improved the morale of Polish nationalist groups the world over. The Swiss Committee, hitherto nominally dedicated to a relief program, now openly adopted political nationalism as a tenet of its policy, and organized the Polish National Committee in Paris, which thenceforth championed the Polish cause among Allied governments.

The objective of this Committee was prodigiously advanced January 8, 1918, when the liberation of the Polish state was proclaimed by President Wilson as the thirteenth of his famous fourteen points. This espousal of the Polish cause by the United States, in the person of the world's foremost statesman among war executives fell upon Polish ears as the sublime diapason of all that had struggled for utterance during more than a century of suppression. It echoed immediately in the assumption by the Paris Committee of governmental powers. (38) It was at this juncture that General Haller was commissioned to organize the

(38) The official recognition of this Committee as a provisional government by Allied nations took place with astonishing rapidity, under the circumstances: September 20, 1918, France, October 15, England, October 30, Italy, and December 1, United States, in turn, accorded recognition.

army. Throughout the Allied nations, Polish groups began to discard the cooperative phases of war activity and set up independent units looking to future concerted action in the Polish territories.

As subsequent investigation has shown, news of the Wilson proclamation quickly seeped through the barriers thrown up by the Central Powers, and spread excitement among German and Austrian Poles. At this time the power and influence of Josef Pilsudski were beginning to constitute a serious worry to Entente governments, and efforts to disperse the legions which he had assembled were creating dangerous dissatisfaction. The trend of events among Allied nations doubtless accelerated the progress of the cause on the other side, although it must be admitted that Pilsudski and other Socialist leaders were inclined to suspect the integrity of Allied protestations—for that matter, not without some practical justification.

The acceptance of the 14-point program by Entente nations was, of course, chronologically associated with the materialization of the new Polish state. On November 8, 1918, Austria acquiesced in the Allied demands, and Germany followed on November 11. The fact that such acquiescence involved official acceptance of a free Poland was anticipated by Polish groups. Three so-called "Polish Governments" were established in quick succession; a republic was set up November 3, 1918 in Warsaw, the outgrowth of the Regency Council formerly created by Germany; on November 7 a Socialist government was formed in Lublin by Daszynski a cohort of Pilsudski; a temporary authority also had been set up in Western

Galicia and to the latter authority the Austrian government had surrendered. The inevitable confusion of interests resulting from various claimants to supremacy did not approach unity until the advent of Pilsudski, who had escaped from the fortress prison of Magdeburg immediately before the Armistice and arrived in Warsaw on November 10.

The necessity for holding the Russian frontier and of extending it while opportunity afforded, soon brought the army of General Haller to Poland, which is the event that sent most of the local Polish army men into Polish territory for the first time.

In Rochester, while the major part of the city's population was extravagantly celebrating the end of hostilities, fresh preparations for war activity were going forward in the Polish community. The appeal for funds was redoubled, recruiting expansion was planned, and the matter of providing for the stricken areas of Poland assumed the proportions of an imperative problem. The latter project interested not only the city's Polish population but became a concern to local leaders generally, for the desperate situation of the Polish civilian population was a very real issue and received wide publicity at the time.

The intolerable conditions extant in the Polish territories, in fact, aroused to action not only Polish American groups, but attracted the foreground of attention with the general public of the United States in many cities. In Rochester the War Chest organization, which organized in 1918, predecessor of the present Community Chest, authorized the creation of an auxiliary Committe from

the Polish quarter, to consider this problem. The Citizens' Committee (Komitet Obywatelski) thus formed consisted of Louis Kubiak, Chairman, John Owczarczak, Casimir Damsz, Frank Zborowski, Dr. Aloysius Smeja, Stanley W. Dukat, Adam Norwich and Adam Felerski. This Committee worked more or less directly on the Polish relief question with the War Chest's Executive Board, that small coterie of distinguished citizens who gave so much of themselves and their goods to the cause in the early days of the Chest venture. From the first the members of this Board, Henry D. Quinby, then City Comptroller, Elmer Fairchild, George Eastman, Joseph T. Alling and Dr. Rush Rhees, Executive Director of the Budget Committee, manifested a keen and material interest in assisting Polish relief and lent a ready ear to appeals in its behalf.

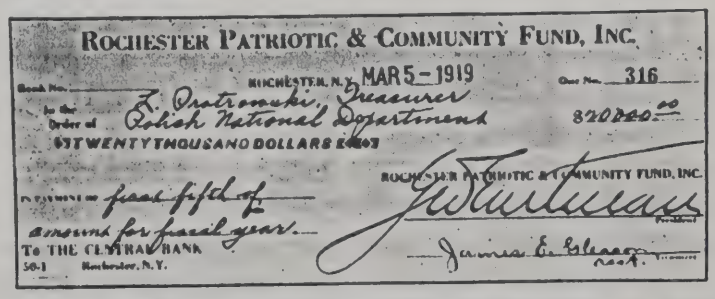
As it happened, at the time no officially constituted body existed under United States auspices with which local Chest leaders might deal in undertaking arrangements for the proper disbursement of relief moneys. The local Polish Committee, it is true, at once proposed the Washington National Department of the Polish National Committee in Paris as a responsible spokesman for the cause, but in those troublous and uncertain days, the ever present possibility that the national cause might not attain its ends, with the consequent danger that operations of the National Department might later be repudiated, deterred civic leaders from over-enthusiastic action. War Chest funds were regarded as a solemn trust, and their disposition by those charged with that trust received scrupulous preliminary consideration.

LEFT TO RIGHT, ADAM FELERSKI, IGNACE J. PADEREWSKI AND CHARLES C. BEHAN; TAKEN ON THE OCCASION OF MR. PADEREWSKI'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (JUNE 12, 1918).

The Rochester Polish Committee, thoroughly imbued with the conviction that the political and economic rebirth of Poland would progress on a sound practical basis, and entirely convinced that Polish agencies at the moment were equipped to undertake relief work in Poland with greater dispatch than any other, realized that if Rochester's contribution were to have the greatest effectiveness, it must be made forthwith, and without unnecessary delay. Toward this end, it was determined to invoke the moral support of Ignace Paderewski, then the foremost Polish leader in the country, and from whose picturesque and dominating personality the Polish cause derived all of the prestige which it then enjoyed.

War Chest officials had no sooner expressed their willingness to hear Mr. Paderewski on the Polish question than Adam Felerski, then a young attorney, and ever since

a prominent and influential figure in local Polish affairs. journeyed to New York City and personally interviewed the artist. Responding to the invitation extended, Paderewski came to Rochester on June 11, 1918 and addressed the Chamber of Commerce the following day. Impressive as was his name and fame at this time, Chamber officials and leaders of the meeting were completely overwhelmed at the magnitude of his reception. An audience that packed the auditorium remained spellbound for two hours during which he spoke in crisp and cultured English upon the intense vitality of the Polish cause and the bitter travail of the restoration which was transpiring.


ROCHESTER PATRIOTIC & COMMUNITY FUND, INC.

ROCHESTER, N.Y. MAR 5 - 1919 No. 316

Pay to the Order of Z. Pastronski, Treasurer Polish National Department $20,000.00

$20 TWENTY THOUSAND DOLLARS

ROCHESTER PATRIOTIC & COMMUNITY FUND, INC.

President

In payment on final fifth of amount for fiscal year.

To THE CENTRAL BANK Rochester, N.Y.

James E. Gleason Sec'y.

ONE OF THE FIVE WAR CHEST CHECKS WHICH WENT TO MAKE UP THE FUND CONTRIBUTED BY ROCHESTER TO POLISH RELIEF (1918-1919).

Shortly following this stirring demonstration, serious negotiations for a cash allowance were begun with the Chest Budget Committee, then consisting of Dr. Rhees, George W. Robinson, James E. Gleason, James G. Comerford, and Henry D. Quinby, with the result that one hundred thousand dollars was allocated by the War Ches to Polish relief and transferred directly to the National Department. The check pictured herein was one of five which went to make up this fund.

The day of Paderewski's address was one of great excitement among local Poles. Numerous impromptu social gatherings were arranged, and in the afternoon Madame Paderewska, who had joined her husband from Buffalo, attended a tea given in her honor at the home of Mrs. Maximilian Sosnowska, 1399 North St.

A later contribution of fourteen thousand dollars to the National Department was made by the Polish community itself. During the two following years, the Hoover Relief Commission which was later chartered to act in the matter of Polish relief, received War Chest contributions amounting to thirty-five thousand dollars. Thus a substantial aggregate amount was raised in Rochester toward the furtherance of this cause, and the City's generosity had never been forgotten by its contingent of Polish citizens.

The year 1919 is also memorable for the visit of Prince Casimir Lubomirski, at that time Poland's Chief Minister in the United States. Prince Lubomirski accepted an invitation to speak before the Chamber of Commerce on January 19, 1920, and his gracious presence is well remembered by members of the audience which he addressed. The personal advent of an official representative from the new Polish state could not fail to produce a favorable impression upon the non-Polish public, a source of great satisfaction to our Polish population. During his stay in Rochester, Prince Lubomirski was the luncheon guest of Harold P. Brewster, then President of the Rochester Savings Bank, and the guest at dinner of Harper Sibley.

Nor was the city's interest in Polish relief confined strictly to financial contributions. Rochester is particularly proud of the contingent of Polish young women who joined the Gray Samaritans from this city. This was a rehabilitation organization founded by Madame Laura Turczynowicz, the wife of a Polish university professor, whose recent experiences in Poland had convinced her of the urgent necessity for such a group. Early in the year 1918 Madame Turczynowicz spoke in Rochester before a large Polish American audience, following which a call for recruits was made, and three Rochester girls immediately responded, along with girls from other localities. Later the Rochester ranks augmented, and the rolls of the "Probationers' Course", conducted at the Rochester Y. W. C. A. by Dr. Marcena Ricker show the names of Mary Nita, Annette Friebe, Martha Graczyk, Anna Badura, Tillie Dernoga, Leocadia Muszynska, Stella Czemerowska, and Sophie Zagata, all of this city. Four of these women, Anna Badura, Annette Friebe, Martha Graczyk and Leocadia Muszynska, went eventually to Poland (July, 1919).

The experiences of the four are interesting and in many ways serve to portray the enormous problem which then confronted the new government of Poland in bringing order out of chaos. The greatest difficulty, for example, was experienced by these women in getting into Polish territory itself, since this involved crossing the interior of Germany, where revolution seethed in a hostile and impoverished populace. The crossing was finally effected when they attached themselves temporarily to a "Typhus Mission", so-called, on its way to the

eastern front, and the journey was made on a freight train. In Warsaw the contingent went to work at once at the various refugee camps, frequently assuming emergency control of affairs and distributing the meager supplies at its disposal in accordance with whatever plan seemed best at the moment. During this period both refugees and workers suffered keenly for lack of food, water, and other necessaries.

The Rochester group later came under the direction of the American Relief Administration, supervised by Herbert Hoover, and was vested with wide authority in the distribution of relief supplies throughout the length of the Polish border. Their proximity to the frontiers, which were then a matter of bitter and bloody dispute, made life dangerous and exciting in the extreme. Martha Graczyk, in fact, was arrested by Lithuanian military police in the fall of 1920 and for some time held in prison at Rowno, as a Polish spy.

The dramatic experience of the Rochester girls is not without its romantic interest. Anna Badura and Miss Graczyk, while in Poland, encountered their future husbands, Stanislaus Czaban and Thaddeus Gedgowd, both Rochester men, who were mmebers of General Haller's army, and had remained to assist in relief work. Miss Badura became Mrs. Czaban, and Miss Graczyk became Mrs. Gedgowd.

Through correspondence received in Rochester from the Gray Samaritan workers, and in stories told by returning veterans, there can be traced some of the feeling which then permeated the Polish populace in gratitude for the turn of events which had at last made Poland a

nation. It is related with much satisfaction, for example, that hungry German soldiers and peasants, in asking for bread, approached Polish troops passing through Germany with the Polish word "chleba" (bread) on their lips. Even so slight a concession as this could not fail to imbue the Poles with a joyful sense of national independence, and it is reported that much bread asked for in this fashion readily found its way into German hands, although intended for other destinations. It is significant also that upon arriving in Poland, as Rochester veterans have recounted, the native born Polish settlements invariably decked themselves in holiday array and scrupulously observed the ancient "bread and salt" (39) ceremony of welcome, despite the devastating hardships which they were undergoing.

The independent activities and interest to which the war gave rise in American Polish communities, far from setting them apart in civic life, in fact offered a means of aiding the sort of assimilation necessary to both groups. Under any other circumstances than existed at the time, such independence of action would have produced dangerous misunderstanding. The concrete objectives held in common by all shades of American life successfully forestalled this development. For the first time Americans generally began to comprehend and appreciate the Polish problem, and the enthusiasm of the American public, when fired by an awakened understanding, brought about a spirit of friendly cooperation dear to the Polish heart, which has become an enduring bond of fellowship.

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(39) It should be noted that the "bread" ordinarily employed in this traditional observance is not bread in the commonly accepted sense of the term, but a non-nutritive wafer prepared especially for the purpose.

Sociologically, the restoration of Poland to the status of an independent nation conferred upon the Pole in America a national identity which hitherto had been denied him. The simple fact that henceforth he might freely be referred to as a Pole, rather than as a German, Austrian or Russian, could not but have a beneficial result upon his part in the life of America.

These two developments, an awakened interest in Polish people and affairs on the part of Americans of other origin, and the free and legitimate assertion of that ancient birthright, the right to a native land, on the part of Polish Americans, have nurtured the process of healthy assimilation, and a new sort of citizen has resulted. Numerous forms of civic activity have developed out of the local Slavic community which undoubtedly never would have done so or would have stifled in an atmosphere of political inferiority, had the momentous objects achieved during the war period failed of accomplishment.

PART V

PART V

DURING the period from the restoration of Poland to the present time, the Pole in America has emerged in a new light and, as will be seen from events in the Rochester community, which may be considered a fair prototype of them all, a striking change has come about in his approach to life in the new world. The inhibitions imposed by lack of nationality having been removed, the impulse to self assertion and expression has become manifest in numerous avenues in which formerly it was completely absent. Apart from this natural psychological factor, it is also true that much of the time and attention formerly expended in planning toward the freedom of European Poland has been released for application to the problems of social adjustment in an adopted environment. Furthermore, the passing of time has brought forth a new generation of American born Polish children, which has grown to manhood and womanhood in a political setting far removed from the stultifying humiliations of pre-war Poland. The comparatively sudden rise to articulation on the part of Polish groups, therefore, can be seen to result in large measure from these developments, which of course had been transpiring quietly for many years, but which received their essential sanction and stimulus from the rebirth of Poland.

That life in America had proved unknowingly attractive even to native born Poles is strikingly attested in the fact that a relatively insignificant number of such aliens have left the United States and established themselves in Poland since the restoration. With very few exceptions, Rochester Poles who travelled to Europe as soldiers or relief workers have returned to this country, and in the case of many whose lives virtually had been lived in the steadfast determination one day to settle in "free Poland", the fact that they have not cared to do so is a perplexing mystery even to themselves.

To some extent, increased participation in civic affairs is evident in the Rochester community during the war years, and certain notable events in which Polish groups took part at that time are an indication of the expansion that was to follow.

The city-wide pageant in celebration of the Shakespearean Tercentenary held on June 7, 8 and 9, 1916, became the occasion of a colorful Polish procession at Edgerton (then Exposition) Park. In recognition of the contribution to Shakespearean art made by the famous Polish actress Modjeska, local Poles were invited to take part, and under the direction of Miss Helen Gregory a troupe was assembled, headed by Miss Martha Chudzinska, who impersonated Modjeska. The dances and traditional ceremonies displayed by this group were prepared with the most painstaking care and were greatly appreciated by the audience before which they were given, to the immense satisfaction of the performers, for the Poles have a much keener interest in and appreciation of

GROUP OF ROCHESTER POLES IN NATIVE COSTUME. "HOMELANDS EXPOSITION" (April, 1920)

Shakespeare than is commonly supposed by English speaking peoples [40].

Perhaps the next pretentious venture into cultural display of a general nature and for the benefit of the city as a whole took place during the Homelands Exposition, held in Rochester in April, 1920. Opening on Saturday evening, April 10, this production lasted ten days, and the Polish exhibit steadily gained in popularity from the first. It will be noted that this was the first function of its kind to occur after the establishment of the new Polish nation, and with unbounded enthusiasm the local Polish group set out to justify its right to national recognition. Dances and various other group activities were arranged with meticulous regard for traditional detail, and costumes were made and worn with strictest accuracy, that there be no mistaking their Polish identity. Individual performances were of a high order and Stanley Okoniewicz, a native Pole residing in Rochester, received several columns of highly complimentary publicity for his skill as a potter, which he displayed daily during the hours of the Exposition. In fact, examination of newspaper files for this period strongly indicates that the keen desire of the Polish group to assert its preeminence in the field of art and handicraft did not go unfulfilled.

In the realm of independent business, also, it is noticeable that Polish enterprise was now augmenting. Well known to Rochesterians generally is the Norwich Clothing Company, which incorporated in 1918 as the Polish Clothing Manufacturing Company, an entirely

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(40) Poles generally are familiar with Shakespeare through the exhaustive translations of Jan Kasprowicz (1860-1926).

Polish venture. Headed by Adam Norwich, Stanley Dukat and Adam Felerski, Polish attorney, this concern operated for a time on Avenue D, and in 1920 constructed its own building, 850 Hudson Avenue, at a cost of $120,000. The capitalization of one million dollars was paid in to the extent of seventy per cent in a remarkably short time. Unfortunately, however, this rapid expansion proved unwarranted in the face of the violent business slump of 1921, which the company was unable to survive.

It is not generally known by non-Slavic Rochester that this city had a weekly newspaper, The Polish Record, published in the Polish language during the six years, 1923-1929. This journal, owned at first by John Felerski, Adam Felerski and John Lelesh, was later (1924) sold to Joseph Zlotnik. Its first directors were James B. Kaleta, Casimir Mrzywka and Francis Openchowski, and during its brief existence the latter, with Stanislaus and Max Skop, John Lelesh, John Grycz, Stanley K. Kowalski and Anthony Zlotnik served as editors in the order named. At the outset, this project gave fair promise of success, but like so many similar ventures essayed at that time, it lacked the material backing necessary to withstand unforeseen emergencies, and the destruction by fire of its editorial offices and printing equipment (1119 Hudson Ave.) in 1929 proved its undoing.

A powerful factor in the enlarged civic interests of the Polish group undoubtedly is the comradeship and common interest which developed among army members, whatever their national or racial backgrounds. In November, 1919, the well-known Pulaski Post of the

American Legion formed in Rochester under the command of Louis Nowak, with Michael Kozlowski acting as Vice-Commander and Max Szczepanski as Secretary. This post is composed exclusively of Polish American veterans who fought in the army of the United States, and has been prominent in local Legion affairs since its organization. During the Monroe County Legion convention in June, 1932, Pulaski Post acted virtually as host, since the meetings were held in Benjamin Franklin High School on Norton Street. Annual Pulaski Day celebrations (October 11) now would be incomplete without the services of the post in organizing and participating in parades and other displays of a martial character. Its affairs at present are directed by Commander William C. Brodowczynski, Vice-Commander Henry E. Bielski and Secretary Alexander B. Tomczak.

A unique military organization, the Polish Army Veterans' Association, assembled in Rochester for the first time in July, 1921, with Frank Mularz as President, Joseph Nawrocki as Vice-President, Walter Jarus and Joseph Mazur as secretaries and Stanislaus Wrublewski as Treasurer. The various units of this national association, scattered about the country, are made up of men from General Haller's army and occupy a somewhat curious status, since the government under which they live can take no official cognizance of their existence. Notwithstanding, the formation of such a group has helped materially to knit relations between the Haller army and the regular army of the United States, which, during critical hours of the war, fought side by side and shared the rigors of the firing line. The Rochester chapter meets regularly

in Falcon Hall and its present officers are, President, Walter Jarus, Vice-President, Stanley Ribakowski, First Adjutant, Bronislaw Druzynski, Treasurer, Stephen Dominiak and Stanley K. Kowalski, Sergeant at Arms.

Enhanced interest in Americanization is also indicated by the creation on November 5, 1920 of the Polish Young Men's Citizens Club, with Max Szczepanski as President. Although the objectives of this society have been chiefly social, its outlook, fixed at all times upon the ideal of American citizenship, has been consistently useful to the community and to the city. Members have been recruited from naturalized Polsih men, or those anxious to become naturalized, and it is one of the few Rochester Polish groups which has always enjoyed club rooms of its own (927 Hudson Ave.). The tenth anniversary of its birth was celebrated December 31, 1930. Present officers are President, Walter Nawrocki, Vice-President, Max Szczepanski, Secretaries, Peter Sak and Joseph Kozlowski, and Treasurer, Paul Kwiatkowski.

The creation during the period 1915-1921 of several characteristically Polish societies carries the reminder that a healthy conservatism still lived in the community, despite the trend toward Americanization of a general nature. In commemoration of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the society bearing his name was organized July 19, 1918, with Ludwig Ziemkiewicz as President, John Jagla as Vice-President, Walenty Andrzejewski and Joseph Wawrzyniak as Secretaries, and Anthony Bednarski as Treasurer. While the motive of the group's existence relates mainly to the preservation of the Kosciuszko fame and ideals, its activities are of a practical and helpful sort,

and insurance benefits play a part in the program offered to prospective members. Its present officers are Bronislaw Druzynski, President, Stanley Szczepaniak, Vice-President, Edmund Dopieralski and Stefan Zientara, Secretaries, and John Kubiak, Treasurer.

There are also two interesting societies concerning which mention should be made, since they are the only aggregations in the local settlement to which membership is recruited primarily on a basis of European birth or residence in a definite locality. On November 28, 1915, the Rakowian Society was formed, Stanislaus Stupkiewicz acting as President, Julian Anuszkiewicz as Vice-President, Baleslaw Borzdynski and Tomasz Bogdanowicz as Secretaries and Wincenty Anuszkiewicz as Treasurer. Members of this society are former residents of the Rakow district of Russian Poland, or their descendants. The group now meets at St. Stanislaus Hall and its present executives are President, Stanislaus Stupkiewicz, Vice-President, Adolf Lukasiewicz, Secretaries, Julian Anuszkiewicz and Vincent Okoniewicz, Treasurer, Stanislaus Stec.

Rochester residents who had come from the district of Chraboly, Russian Poland, united on June 16, 1921, to form the Chrabolan Society under the leadership of Joseph Kamienski, President, Casimir Daszkiewicz, Vice-President, Walter and Anthony Adamski, Secretaries, and Vincent Adamski, Treasurer. At first this group also met at St. Stanislaus, but now has adopted Falcon Hall as its headquarters. It was incorporated April 9, 1929, and its affairs are now directed by Baltazy Dziengielewski, President, Anthony Laskowski, Vice-President, Kasimir

Skuza and Joseph Krawiec, Secretaries and Anthony Dziengielewski, Treasurer.

It is essential that attention be called at this point to the expanding influence and development of St. Stanislaus Church, under the benign leadership of Father Ignatius Klejna. It will be remembered that Father Klejna came to the parish at a time when its affairs were most critical, immediately following the congregational break, and the quiet, tactful dignity of this priest in accepting and discharging the obligations of his trust over a period of unprecedented turmoil and excitement occasioned by the war, has gained for him a permanent place of honor in the history of his parish and of Rochester.

The burden already placed upon the St. Stanislaus parish by the construction of the new church and other building operations was intensified by the demands of the war and relief agencies seeking to aid European Poland, a fact which was recognized by Father Klejna, who, in addition to his clerical duties, became active in many ways in the community. Rendering himself approachable to all in the midst of his extraordinary activity, he unquestionably strengthened the parish and increased its prestige immeasurably in the city of Rochester. His services to the Polish relief cause, in fact, received official acknowledgment on June 5, 1928, when he was decorated by Honorable Edmund Kalenski, of Buffalo, Vice-Consul for Poland. His picture is shown here with that of Stanley K. Kowalski, who was awarded a like decoration, and with many of whose projects during the war years Father Klejna was intimately indentified.

STANLEY K. KOWALSKI (standing) and REV. IGNATIUS J. KLEJNA

In the summer of 1915, St. Stanislaus celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence with special services and a mammoth lawn fete, in which all church societies participated. It is to be noted that the figure of one thousand persons, previously given as the size of the congregation in 1897 at the time of the first school dedication had now augmented practically three-to-five-

fold and fully one thousand families now appeared on the church rolls.

In the year following the anniversary (1916) a new St. Stanislaus society organized in the parish, the original parish society of this name having passed out of existence. The present group elected John Karlowicz President, Ladislaus Walkonski Vice-President, John Racinawski, and Frank Drzewiecki, Secretaries, and Walenty Paprocki, Treasurer at its organization meeting. Its activities are principally social and serve to coordinate parish action in many directions. Officers at this time are President, John Jagla, Vice-President, John Racinowski, Secretaries, Frank Drzewiecki and Frank Lazewski, and Treasurer, Anthony Bednarski.

In 1918 the present St. Stanislaus rectory was constructed, an attractive, roomy home for pastors and assistants, who, prior to its erection, were obliged to suffer considerable inconvenience for lack of adequate quarters. Two other signal material improvements took place during the pastorate of Father Klejna, the complete redecoration of the church's interior (1925) and the installation of a new pipe organ.

Father Klejna was succeeded by Rev. Stanislaus J. Szupa, whose departure in 1933 was followed by the appointment of Rev. Joseph A. Balcerak, a lifelong resident of Rochester.

A major community development, which had been taking form for some years past, became a tangible reality on March 6, 1922 with the opening of Dom Ludowy Polski, or Polish People's Home at 818 Hudson Avenue.

Properly speaking, this enterprise was conceived by the Rochester Chapter of the Polish Socialist Alliance, and received its first serious consideration in July, 1912, when Leonard Szklarski bought the frame house at this address for the purpose of providing a home for the new Polish People's Library. Thereafter, the library became a convenient gathering place for numerous societies which, for one or another reason, had not adopted any of the other neighborhood halls generally used for that purpose. The expansion and diversification of community interests taking place at the time were leading certain groups to conflict with others, and imbued the larger organizations which operated the buildings already in existence with a sense of partisan proprietorship embarrassing to the idea of a common meeting place. These circumstances led the Socialist Alliance to confer with community leaders from other organizations upon the advisability of erecting a social building in which interested clubs might be able to procure suitable accommodations upon a purely business basis, without regard to religious or political complexion.

On December 27, 1918, a meeting of prospective bondholders was held at which it was determined to form a corporation, Polish People's Home, Inc., for the purpose of owning and operating the projected building. The officers of the corporation elected at that time were Stanley Klodinski, President, Edward Koszalka, Vice-President, Waleryan Dziekonski, Secretary and Antoni Zaczek, Treasurer. The corporate structure of the company, which has never been changed in any essential particular, admirably carries out the purposes of its founders. The right to use the building is acquired by

purchasing bonds in the corporation, whose directors pass upon the eligibility of applicant-societies and adjust the allotment of time and space to insure the ready availability of facilities applied for.

Work was begun on People's Hall, as it is commonly called, July 30, 1921, and the building opened March 6 of the following year. The frame structure which housed the library was not demolished and is still in use, the larger building being located on the rear lot.

The consistent success which has attended the Dom Ludowy project has definitely proved that a real need for it existed when it was conceived. Member societies have taken considerable pride in the part ownership which they have enjoyed, and have developed among themselves a unity of spirit and interest hardly foreseen in the beginning. Joint social affairs are frequently held, at which money is raised for upkeep and material improvement of the premises, and the individual functions sponsored by the various groups are well supported by the entire membership. At the present time the corporation is headed by Frank Mietus, President, Joseph Pogroszewski, Vice-President, Martin Karolczak, Financial Secretary, Stanley Orzechowski, Recording-Secretary, and Mary Kaczmarczyk, Treasurer, and is supported by the following member societies: New Life Benevolent Society, P. N. A. Group 512, Polish Workers' Mutual Aid Association, Polish Local 206, Clothing Workers, Polish Women's Club, a new organization, and the Polish Socialist Alliance, besides one hundred twenty individual shareholders, represented on the Board of Directors by Stanley Orzechowski and Joseph Pogroszewski.

To some extent the example of People's Hall was followed by the Falcon organization, which enlarged and remodeled its building in 1922, the completed structure being dedicated on May 27 of that year. It will be remembered, too, that the ranks of returned veterans were constantly swelling at this time, which could not fail to tax the capacity of Falcon Hall, since these men invariably congregated here. Of late years this hall has been employed in essentially the same fashion as Dom Ludowy, and it is a rare moment that some form of meeting or assemblage is not in progress within its walls.

It will be seen that the years immediately following the restoration of Poland were active and ambitious ones for the Pole residing in America, and it was during these years that many pursuits were undertaken, the extravagance of which was unwarranted economically, and which doubtless sprang in part from the greatly accelerated enthusiasm with which the favorable outcome of the war had infected him.

This enthusiasm, of late years, has assumed a somewhat different form and in a considerable degree has directed itself into political channels, the natural result, perhaps, of the increase in the adoption of American citizenship.

In 1926 with the modest membership of eleven, the Polonia Republican League organized under the leadership of John Felerski, President, Frank Zientara, Vice-President, Leo Adamski, Secretary and Chester Bialynski, Treasurer. Meeting regularly at Falcon Hall, this group has become large and influential during the years and has engaged in numerous enterprises not of a political

nature, having a well defined charitable and social program. Its present officers are William Brodowczynski, President, Matthew Kowalski, 1st Vice-President, John T. Skalny, 2nd Vice-President, Stanley Kaczmarek and Joseph Nogaj, Secretaries, and Anthony Kaleta, Treasurer.

A Polish Women's Republican Club formed in 1929 with Mary Lazinska as President, Frances Szczepanska, Vice-President, Helen Reimer and Josephine Kwiatkowska, Secretaries and Sophie Kapczynska as Treasurer. Its meeting place was St. Casimir's Hall and it has acted somewhat as the auxiliary of Polonia Republican League. This organization has become inactive during the past year.

In August 1931, the Polish Democratic Union came into existence as the first aggregation in the community of Democratic persuasion since the club of Democrats formed immediately prior to the war, by John Leszczynski and Stanley K. Kowalski, which lasted but a few years. John J. Kaleta, an outstanding Democrat of the community, became and has since remained the leader of the present Union. The presence of this group has brought about healthy rivalry in political matters and developments of the past few years have greatly expanded its membership and importance.

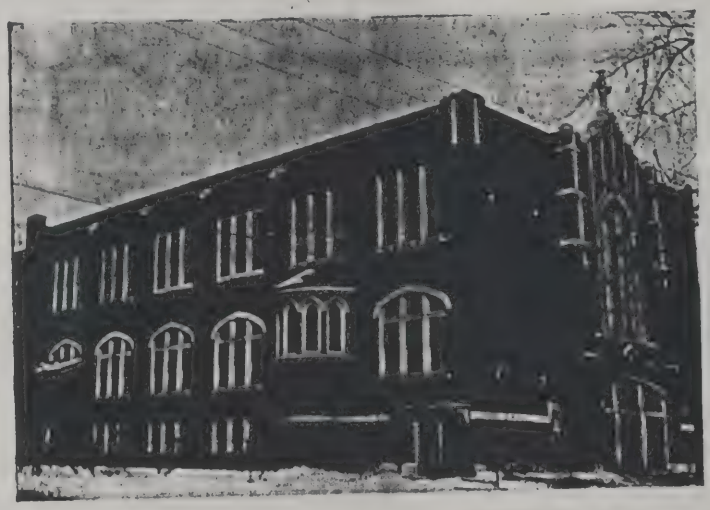
To an appreciable extent, the existence of political organizations of Polish background has operated to interest the city at large in the welfare and affairs of the settlement, and has made it a factor to be considered in civic life. In countless ways unconnected with the instant business of local politics, their presence focuses outside attention upon the contributions constantly being made

by the portion of the city's population which they represent. In this sense they may be regarded as significant of community development and orderly assimilation.

A somewhat new type of organization came on February 7, 1927, with the formation of the Polish Business Men's Association, its original officers being Stephen Milosz, President, Felix Wrublewski, Vice-President, Albert Kusak and Walter Kurowski, Secretaries, and John Szwajkos, Treasurer. The first serious attempt on the part of Polish merchants to organize, this society has become a thoroughly substantial and permanent institution. Although it first met at People's Hall, its deliberations are now conducted at Falcon Hall and meetings are regular and enthusiastic. As business has grown in the Polish quarter, new problems have arisen, which members attempt to approach with a united front through the Association. The organization has been especially generous in its response to appeals in aid of various local projects of a community nature. Present officers are William Brodowczynski, President, Edward Dembowski, Vice-President, John Nowicki and Stanley Nowak, Secretaries, and John T. Antczak, Treasurer.

As the result of the geographical extension southward of the Polish population in Rochester, there is now a new parish, that of St. Theresa, 8 Mark Street, organized September 10, 1927. This is a Franciscan parish, efforts to establish which really date back to 1907 and the time of the St. Stanislaus schism. The St. Theresa church eventually was chartered by Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hickey, Bishop of Rochester on the date above mentioned, following, which cornerstone ceremonies were held July, 4, 1928.

Initial services were held at Concordia Hall in Clifford Avenue September 25, 1927, the sermon being presented by the Very Reverend Justin Figas, Minister Provincial of St. Anthony's Polish Province in America. Rev. Stanislaus J. Szupa, then pastor of St. Stanislaus, presided at the Mass, assisted by Rev. Stefan Musielak, deacon and



ST. THERESA'S CHURCH, MARK ST., ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Rev. Figas, subdeacon. At this service also, the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Francis O'Hern, then Vicar General of the Rochester Diocese, spoke in the absence of the Bishop, and Rev. Michael Drzewucki was appointed pastor.

On September 9, 1928, the day prior to a first parish anniversary, services were held in the new church building, and four months later (January 7, 1929) school was opened under the guidance of Franciscan Sisters, with a registration of one hundred and six. Thus the new parish proceeded apace to entrench itself in its community, with marked success. Its present pastor is Rev. Louis

Sobieski, O. M. C., (41) who came to the church in the spring of 1933, and who is assisted by Rev. Fulgence Gorczyca, O. M. C. The St. Theresa parish now numbers about two hundred families.

Although probably one of the most active cultural agencies in the Polish community, the scope of general activity on the part of the St. Theresa parish has been limited by the unusual financial burden which its members took upon themselves at its organization, and much of their organized energy is now directed at relieving this burden. Within itself the St. Theresa group is closely knit by a roster of religious societies working for the welfare of their church. Some of the more important of these are Ladies of the Holy Rosary, Sacred Heart Society, Third Order of St. Francis, Young Ladies Circle, Young Men's Club, Young Ladies Sodality, Children of Mary Society, and the St. Joseph Society. Of these the St. Joseph Society has perhaps the widest secular interests, since its charter provides for extensive activity in the field of the American citizenship.

A new chapter of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, known as Group 1250, organized in St. Theresa's parish February 12, 1933. This society meets at the Church hall and pursues the common objectives of its sister chapters within its own congregation.

The youth of the community has lately evidenced a reawakened interest in organized athletics, adopting, of course, the characteristic American games, baseball, football and basketball. The latter game had been

(41) Order of Minor Conventuals.

notably indulged in by the Filarets, a team sponsored by the social and educational society of that name which until the past year existed in the St. Stanislaus parish. This society formed in February, 1927 with Walter Jankowiak, President, Anna Kwiatkowska, Secretary and Frank Tomkowiak, Treasurer. There were actually two basketball teams, one composed of boys and the other of girls, both of which held city championship in their respective classes. (42) The Cadet Football Club, which formed under severe handicaps in 1929, was fortuitously rescued from impending oblivion the following year through the good offices of James B. Kaleta, Polish druggist, who equipped the team with uniforms and appurtenances, and under whose guidance it now flourishes as the Kaleta Drugs.

An active interest has been maintained in baseball and a number of organizations have featured this sport as a part of their social programs. Prominent among these is the Polish Young Men's Citizens Club team, called the Polish Nationals, which won the Western New York Polish cup at one time. At the present time, perhaps the foremost baseball team in active operation is that sponsored by the Echo Musical Society, which plays regularly during the summer months. The Roycrofts, so-called, a boys' team begun on the initiative of its own members, suffered a decline similar to that affecting the Cadet Football team, and was in like manner restored to activity by the interest of Walter Wojtczak, who pro-

(42) Championships were won by the girls in 1933, 1934, and 1935, and by the boys in 1930. The group has been active in the past in other than atheltic fields, having been responsible for the successful celebration of "Sienkiewicz Day" (1927), and the staging of a Passion Play at Falcon Hall (1930).

vided its members with complete equipment during the season of 1933 and has since acted as its mentor. For the most part, these ventures appear to be short-lived, but the essential interest in their game seldom lags, and baseball as an established institution in the community seems assured of continued support.

Self-education groups originating in recent years are interesting as displaying the two-fold object of acquiring an enlightened and up-to-date Americanism while seeking to preserve the artistic and cultural qualities of a Slavic background. The achievement of this result, in a sense, constitutes the present major problem of assimilation now confronting the American Pole, and the various media through which its solution is being attempted locally may be said to provide a significant index of a widespread current development which, although general and fairly definite in character, frequently is not perceived by the Pole himself.

On October 8, 1928, there organized within the parish of the Polish Baptist Church a society of young people whose Polish name, Towarzystwo Naukowe, Promien, is at once pointed and colorful, yet scarcely susceptible of adequate translation into English. (43) Its first officers were Frank Rakus, President, Isabelle Miecieszewska, Vice-President, Albina Miecieszewska, Secretary and Lillian Zaleska, Treasurer. The group is wholly intellectual in purpose and conducts debates, lectures and open forums in which self-expression is developed. The Polish language

(43) Literally the expression means "Educational Society of the Ray". "Ray" in this instance, however, is a somewhat ineffective equivalent of "promien", which connotes intellectual or moral enlightenment.

is used however, and its members strive to unite the American point of view with Polish atmosphere, an instructive and entertaining experiment. On September 2, 1929, American and Polish flags, together with a flagpole for their display were presented by this society to the Baptist Church in a ceremony of dedication held in the churchyard, and on Washington's birthday 1931, under the society's auspices, Hon. Thadeus Marynowski, Polish Consul, lectured at Peoples' Hall on "Development of Polish Culture in the United States." Its present officers are Joseph Jekot, President, Walter Nawrocki, Vice-President, Bronislaw Walecki and Tomasz Smietanowski, Secretaries and Lillian Zaleska, Treasurer.

Another cultural group, the Kalina Circle, (44) composed entirely of women, organized November 9, 1929, with Stefania Osiecka as President, Anna Bartles, Vice-President, Marya Sadowska, and Marya Kolacka, Secretaries, and Helen Kedzierska, Treasurer. The Circle meets at St. Casimir's Hall and devotes its attention principally to the exploitation of Polish choral music. At present its official staff is composed of Agnes Kozlowska, President, Marya Kolacka, Vice-President and Anna Kolacka, Treasurer.

The drama also has received active interest through formation of the Polish Dramatic Club on January 3, 1930, at which time John P. Leszczynski, Stella Krasowska and Joseph Kuzminski were elected to the offices of President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively. The club meets at

(44) "Kalina", Polish name of a species of the viburnum, a shrub, bearing a round red berry, referred to colloquially as symbolic of active and healthy womanhood.

Falcon Hall and has presented since its beginning sixteen plays in the Polish language. It has been customary for the club to hold a public ball each year, which occasio has now become distinguished for its contest to select a beauty queen, "Miss Polonia", for participation in the Rochester Lilac Festival in Highland Park. This honor has thus been conferred in turn upon Estelle Rzepecka (1932), Mary Tabaczynska (1933), and Florence Czarniak (1934). Present officers of the society are Joseph Nowinowski, President, Marion Wojnowski, Vice-President, and Director, Sophia Cwalina and Stella Krasowska, Secretaries, and Bronislaw Sokolski, Treasurer.

Organized social advancement, and particularly the perpetuation of Polish culture and ideas is occupying the attention of national Polish associations to some exte a development which is reflected in the activities of some local chapters. Of late years the Polish Women's Alliance in America, with headquarters in Chicago, has sprung into prominence, and Rochester has an extremely active chapter, Group 632, which first met March 4, 1931 at St. Stanislaus auditorium, still the home of the society. Officers chosen at that time were Aniela Antczak, President, Joanna Kubiak, Vice-President, Florentine Milosz and Stanislawa Wojdalowicz, Secretaries and Katarzyna Borzdynska, Treasurer. Membership is recruited from all women of the community entirely on a non-sectarian basis, the primary object of the group being the artistic and educational improvement of female Polish-American children. A school for this purpose has been maintained, admitting girls ranging in age from infancy up to sixteen years, in which the Polish language and history are taught,

and dancing, drilling and other forms of organized recreation are fostered in the Polish tradition.

A state convention of the Women's Alliance was held under the sponsorship of Group 632 in 1932, at which future plans were laid, and which evoked considerable enthusiasm on the part of the local community. Although a comparatively new venture, the Alliance serves a growing social need and there are indications that its importance will increase as years pass. Present officers are Katarzyna Borzdynska, President, Bronislawa Buszka, Vice-President, Michalina Wasielewska and Zofja Michalska, Secretaries and Maryanna Emler, Treasurer.

On September 24, 1932, largely under the auspices of Peoples' Hall, there organized an educational movement known as Fakultet Szkolki Polskiej also designed to instil in the Polish youth of Rochester an understanding and love of homeland traditions. At the outset this project was headed by a board composed of Joseph Kobylarz, Frank Mietus, Ludwik Zabelny, Leon Buczek, Frank Lipinski, Antoni Stachura, and Frank Adwent, of which Stanley K. Kowalski was Chairman. John Pospula was selected to direct the school, and also gave instruction in the Polish language. For a time it was well attended and several demonstrations of its work were given at the hall.

This venture, soon after its organization, became identified with the movement known as Harcerstwo, or Polish Scouts, fathered by certain interests within the Polish National Alliance, with the result that the school, as such, has dissolved, certain of its major activities having merged with those of the Scout movement. The latter is sponsored chiefly by P. N. A. Group 512 in this

city. Its adult adviser is Stanley K. Kowalski, and its units or troops are directed respectively by Henry Kraszkiewicz, Scoutmaster, and Stefania Dobrochowska, Scoutmistress.

The emphasis upon historical background and the use of the Polish language in its various activities are the principal factors distinguishing the Polish Scout organization from that of the American Boy Scouts and similar institutions. Some effort at affiliation with the Boy Scout movement has been made, and the activity of the Rochester Polish Scouts has been extensive. Under national auspices, Scoutmaster Kraszkiewicz was entertained in Poland in 1934, in connection with Harcerstwo affairs.

It is evident that the trend observed in the formation of the societies just discussed is general, and indicates the realization on the part of Polish leaders that henceforth whatever bonds shall exist between a growing Polish-American population and its native Poland must be those of culture, art and social tradition, rather than those of an active nationalism. It may be said that this development foreshadows, in a sense, the essential contribution which shall remain from the Pole to America in the slowly advancing process of assimilation.

Perhaps the most noticeable recent development in the Rochester Polish community, from the standpoint of the city as a whole is its increasing capacity for unified action, and the consideration of this development leads to some interesting conclusions respecting community assimilation as it is transpiring locally.

Reference already has been made to the extraordinary propensity of the Polish-American group to form clubs and societies, a propensity which springs largely from the fact that conditions in European Poland for over one hundred years had precluded the expression of this impulse. However, its over-expression in the liberal environment of America soon produced a natural result, which was disorganization, the persistence of which has been a curious phenomenon charateristic of many Polish settlements. It has required, in fact, the pressure of unusual events in most cases to bring about any advance whatever toward a workable unity of action.

During the early years of the war the necessity for preserving a united front became imperative in more genuine fashion than before, and for a time the complete devotion to an ancient cause, dramatically materialized in a succession of momentous events, rendered unity comparatively easy. Even the cleavage which soon developed in the original KON ranks, despite outward appearances, did not appreciably destroy that concerted approach to the Polish problem which circumstances had made so vitally essential.

It appears that Komitet Rekrutacyjny, or Polish Army Mobilization Committee, as it later came to be called, represents the first step in the direction of community leadership centered in one body. While it is true that this move was largely inspired by national leaders, it is certain that the local Polish settlement was solidly behind the Committee in the pursuit of its immediate objectives. The visit to Rochester of Prince Ludwig Poniatowski, scion of the last of Poland's ruling

houses, in April, 1918, on behalf of Polish recruiting activities, was conducted under the auspices of this Committee.

ADAM FELERSKI
LEADING FIGURE IN KOMITET OBYWATELSKI

The exclusively military character of the Mobilization Committee, which materially insured its success among Poles, had precisely the opposite effect, however, upon its contacts with non-Polish groups, since at the time the United States was a neutral power. Accordingly there came into existence the Komitet Obywatelski (Citizens' Committee), which has been mentioned in Part IV, consisting of various outstanding local leaders and which was for a number of years the duly chosen spokesman of numerous Polish organizations. Over a considerable period this Committee carried almost complete responsibility in all matters requiring contact with the city as a whole, and discharged its functions with admirable tact and effectiveness.

It was largely through the influence of the Citizens' Committee that Rochester received the Hon. John Wedda, United States Representative for Polish matters, on December 15, 1918, the same year in which Paderewski had come. Wedda, it will be remembered appeared in

defense of his native land in connection with a sharp revival of the Jewish problem, and spoke on the same platform with Dr. Meyer Jacobstein, then professor at the University of Rochester, and the late Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, of Temple Berith Kodesh.

Also under this Committtee's auspices came the Hon. John Smulski, who spoke by invitation at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon January 29, 1919. Smulski at the time was President of the Polish National Department, in behalf of which Paderewski had addressed the Chamber.

Many thousands of dollars worth of Polish government bonds were sold in Rochester in a sales campaign for which Komitet Obywatelski was chiefly responsible. This bond campaign is notable for the lively interest which it aroused among non-Polish Rochesterians, and reports indicate high satisfaction on the part of purchasers who, from time to time, have found ready and profitable markets for their securities.

The emergence of a new Poland on the field of world affairs, in itself, has awakened the desire among Americans generally to learn more about the new state and about Slavic peoples. Numerous war heroes and Polish officials have travelled about the country in response to this desire, and Poland herself in many instances, has taken occasion to acknowledge publicly the aid and assistance which has been rendered her by nations and individuals. In this process of an awakening consciousness, Rochester has been notably concerned, and the public character of the events marking such concern has further developed the cause of civic unity in our Polish group.

Chief, perhaps, of all official visitors who passed through Rochester in the years immediately following the restoration, was General Josef Haller, commander of the Polish Army in France. General Haller came to America at the invitation of the American Legion and following his appearance at the national convention of that body, stopped in the city of Rochester, on November 28, 1923, where his entertainment was sponsored jointly by Komitet Obywatelski, the Mobilization Committee, Polish Army Veterans and the local Legion. During his stay here Haller addressed a large gathering at Convention Hall, and was much feted by city officials.

The visit of Colonel Cedric E. Fauntleroy on December 8, 1920, on the occasion of his address before the Chamber of Commerce may be regarded as a highly interesting event in the history of Rochester and of its Polish community. Colonel Fauntleroy is considered one of the most colorful of the heroes produced by the World War. Fired by the ideal of gratitude for the deeds of Lafayette, Kosciuszko, and other American patriots of foreign birth, he had first become prominently identified with the French aviation as one of the moving spirits of the famous Lafayette Escadrille. Later, he and the war ace, Meriam C. Cooper, formed the Kosciuszko Squadron which saw exciting service in Poland after the Armistice. His visit to this city will be recalled by many who saw and heard him at that time, and his presence lent favorable impetus to the increasing fellowship which Rochester had begun to feel for its Polish population.

On June 5, 1927, Father Ignatius J. Klejna of St. Stanislaus Church, and Stanley K. Kowalski, first head

of the Rochester Polish recruiting unit, received the Polish government "Cross of Merit" at the hands of Dr. Edmund Kalenski, Polish Vice-Consul who came to Rochester for the purpose. This decoration is an honor reserved by Poland for men and women of Polish birth or extraction, who have served the cause of their homeland faithfully during the years of the restoration. It was also conferred July 1, 1928, upon Martha Gedgowd, Gray Samaritan heroine, Father Stanislaus J. Szupa, then newly appointed rector of St. Stanislaus, Father Stanislau· Wysoczynski, his assistant, and Adam Felerski and Louis Kubiak, intimately connected with Komitet Obywatelski during the years of its outstanding activity. Dr. Kalenski is now not a stranger to the city, having spoken over the radio at Pulaski Day ceremonies October 11, 1933, on the same program with Colonel Oscar N. Solbert of Rochester, who also saw military service in Poland with an American unit.

Although relatively little prominence attended her coming, Lieutenant Sophia Nowosielska, who visited this city in March, 1929, remaining for a short time at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Stanley K. Kowalski, is, no doubt, one of the most interesting Polish personalities to visit Rochester in recent years. Lieutenant Nowosielska enlisted as a man in the Polish army and for a surprisingly long period succeeded in concealing her sex. Being wounded in action, however, she was discovered and dismissed, but the later formation of a women's squadron found her again in the service where she won her officer's commission and honorable discharge.

Rochester has been twice honored in the award of the cross "Polonia Restituta", which is a very distinguish-

ed recognition conferred by the Polish government on civilians of other lands who have been of valued service to the restoration, and carries with it a titular knighthood. On December 10, 1927, Dr. Stefan Rosicki, Consular Representative of Poland, presented this decoration to George Eastman, whose interest in and contributions to the rehabilitation of the Polish territories had been extensive. Again on Pulaski day, October 11, 1934, Dr. Mieczyslaw Marchlewski, Polish Consul, of New York, conferred the cross upon Dr. Rush Rhees, President of the University of Rochester, in recognition of his service to the Polish cause while head of the War Chest committee, and of his consistent interest in Polish affairs.

Events of this character invariably brought the Rochester Polish community into the limelight of public notice, as a consequence of which the principle of action as a unit was taking deeper root. Although Komitet Obywatelski had successfully assumed and discharged civic functions, the essential reasons for its existence centered about the war and Polish rehabilitation, and the attention of the community it represented, through it, had been at all times directed at a European Poland, which now was becoming less and less needful of that attention. Therefore, as was perhaps unavoidable, the committee gradually ceased to be active in any representative capacity.

The desirability of uniting the community at this time sprang from certain of its social and material needs, which could not satisfactorily be fulfilled in a disorganized group. The brief economic decline which followed the war gave rise to an unemployment and relief problem sufficiently pressing to overtax the capacity of existing

independent organizations, and the rapidly enlarging population of American born Polish children was creating a new class of social dependents, for the guidance and adjustment of which the community was responsible. Obligations of this nature, however, were not at once great enough to insure the desired unity in the face of certain obstacles left over from the turmoil of preceding years.

Following the restoration, the Polish group in America found itself hampered by a troublesome factionalism, really inherited from its own war and pre-war activity. This factionalism, indeed, proved more annoying in peacetime years than before, since the compelling issues current during the period from 1914 to 1920 frequently submerged the personal and local differences of the various wings. Upon the attainment of their common prime objective, therefore, the opposing groups retired to their respective camps and maintained for a time a hostile and impenetrable exclusiveness. It is noticeable that sincere efforts to achieve unity were made from time to time by one or another of these camps, resulting usually in the ascendancy of the group taking the initiative, which, of course, brought about the withdrawal of the others. This awkward state of affairs continued to exist until time had partially softened the memory of previous conflicts, and events occurred which demanded a kind of unity not calculated to revive any of the old disputes.

Locally, the earliest attempt to achieve general coordination of action, perhaps, was the Polish American Philanthropic Association, organized July 25, 1919, and incorporated March 23 of the following year. Prominent

in the guidance of its affairs were Adam Norwich, of the Norwich Clothing Company, Michal Gibowski Marcel Mularz, John Owczarczak, Stanley K. Kowalski, Joseph Biskup, Dr. Leon Kurek, Joseph Koscielny, Casimir Damsz and Apolonja Kruszynska. The avowed object of this organization was the orderly collection and distribution of charitable and relief funds, and its structure followed essentially the lines of the city War and Community Chests. Reverend Joseph Luniewski, then assistant to Father Klejna of St. Stanislaus, maintained a keen interest in the success of this work, and for a number of years was active in promoting community consolidation in various fields. The Philanthropic Association as a movement in group unity did not win adequate support. however, and survived only for a short time.

In March, 1924, another attempt at fusion was made in the formation of the Polish American Central Committee, called in Polish, Centrala, of which John Grycz was elected President. The group responsible for this venture fully realized the importance and extent of its major problem and, in seeking to heal the artificial estrangements left over from the controversial activity of earlier years, chose for its immediate objectives such matters of common interest as the establishment of a playground and improvement in traffic and police protection. Father Luniewski also played an energetic part in the work of this Committee, which for a time succeeded in making genuine progress toward the goal of civic cooperation.

This body acted as formal reception comittee for the famous Namysloski Band, which played in Convention Hall March 19, 1925, under the direction of Casimir

Namysloski. Some citywide interest was aroused by the appearance of this musical aggregation, which had existed for many years [45] and in its colorful peasant dress had played command performances before the German and Russian Emperors.

The appeal by the Kosciuszko Foundation of New York [46] for funds in October 1926 was taken over by the Central Committee and an active campaign was organized. Some of the local contributions were substantial, notably that of $1000 by Stephen Zielinski. The Kosciuszko campaign had the beneficial effect of bringing the Central Committee into general public notice for the first time.

Despite these well-handled opportunities, the interest of the community in the work of its committee was not sustained, and during 1926 and 1927 its existence became chiefly titular. Accordingly, in 1928 a few enthusiastic members, headed by Henry Bielski, then Chairman, embarked upon a membership drive and by dint of much labor eventually reawakened Committee activity to the extent of holding regular meetings which were reasonably well attended.

At length, in 1929, an event occurred which to an appreciable degree has assured the permanence of the Central Committee as a community institution. This was the Congressional Resolution of that year calling for the

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(45) The Namysloski Band which visited Rochester was successor to the pretentious organization founded in Europe by Jan Namysloski. The parent ensemble at one time numbered three hundred musicians and in its time played before all the courts of Europe. Its members were recruited in boyhood and remained identified with the society for life, as in a guild.

(46) Kosciuszko Foundation: a nationwide society of Polish-Americans devoted to the exchange of students between higher institutions of learning in Poland and the United States and the promotion of Polish-American relations generally.

proclamation of Pulaski Day on October 11, and authorizing the nation at large to commemorate the name and works of the great patriot in public ceremonies. The campaign for passage of this resolution was a live issue in the Rochester Polish settlement and naturally fell into the hands of Centrala as the only organized unit representative of the entire section. Formal correspondence with Representative Meyer Jacobstein and Senator Robert F. Wagner is still in the Committee's files as a record of the activity displayed on that occasion. The ultimate proclamation of Pulaski Day in 1929 turned the attention of Rochester Poles to the Central Committee, which was, by common consent, charged with the duty of organizing the local observances.

These observances assumed somewhat the form of a memorial. Church services were held in the morning, and a procession marched to the mass meeting at Convention Hall. The Committee was unusually fortunate in being able to secure as its principal speaker at this meeting the Honorable Waclaw Sieroszewski, a Polish writer of great prominence, the Very Rev. John Francis O'Hern, Bishop of Rochester, acting as honorary Chairman. The event was counted a signal sucess both by the local community and by the city at large, and the Central Committee ever since has assumed acknowledged leadership in the organization of Pulaski Day affairs.

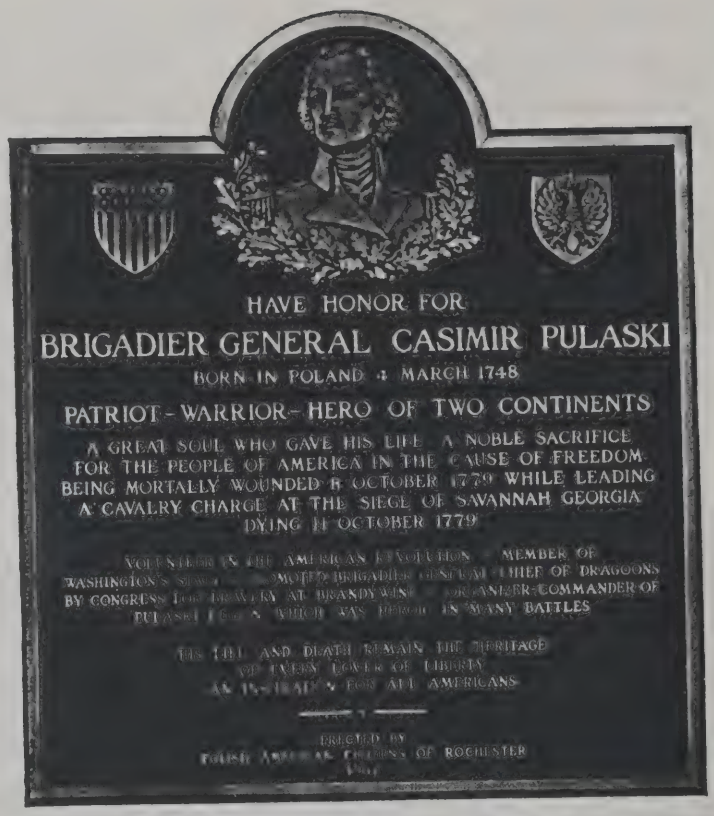
The importance of this development as a unifying influence is interesting to consider. It will be observed that the celebration of Pulaski Day emanated from the government of the United States, which made such celebration definitely an American patriotic occasion.

Thus the conduct of the Pulaski Day program for the first time afforded America the opportunity to act through her Polish population instead of merely permitting the Polish element to act through America. Psychologically, this produced a healthy effect in that it imbued the Pole with a sense of responsibility to the whole body politic, transcending the differences in viewpoint which had arisen from the partisan issues of his own making, and peculiar to those of his own national background.

Locally, too, the Pulaski ideal provided various community groups, of dubious cordiality toward each other, with an immediate common goal or object, of such unimpeachable virtue as to impel instant and unanimous enthusiasm. Here was a cause which might enlist the support of the entire settlement without the danger of reviving factional disagreements. The unity movement thus acquired a valuable momentum which it has never lost.

In 1930, the progress of plans for a new branch of the Rochester Public Library at Hudson Avenue and Norton Street led to the inauguration of a Pulaski movement which eventually culminated in the erection of the so-called Pulaski Plaque within the completed building. The presentation and dedication of this memorial took place during the ceremonies of October 11, 1933, at which Dr. Edmund Kalenski addressed a large audience gathered at the library entrance. (47) Centrala played a leading part in the completion of this project. The dis-

(47) The actual dedication was made by Edward R. Foreman, City Historian, acceptance being made by Hon. Percival D. Oviatt, Mayor of Rochester, and John Adams Lowe, City Librarian.



MEMORIAL PLAQUE HONORING PULASKI, ERECTED AT HUDSON BRANCH LIBRARY, DEDICATED OCTOBER 11, 1933.

tinct acceleration which this sort of enterprise gave to the program of general unity is indicated by the fact that the petition submitted, was signed by the rectors of all churches in the community, regardless of denomination, as well as the executive heads of all societies then affiliated with the Central Committee.

Perhaps the outstanding event of 1932 for the Polish Community was the George Washington Bicentennial celebration held at Benjamin Franklin High School

auditorium May 1, 1932, when an audience of twenty-five hundred assembled to hear Professor William J. Rose of Dartmouth College deliver an address appropriate to the occasion. Professor Rose is one of America's foremost authorities on Polish affairs and presented a broadcast over Station WHAM on the same evening. In deference to the large Polish majority in his audience at the school the Professor during a portion of his speech used the Polish language, in which he is thoroughly at ease. Hon. Arthur L. Wilder, City Judge, was also a speaker at the mass meeting.

Several other semi-public programs were undertaken by the Central Committee in 1932. The banquet and reception at the Sagamore Hotel in honor of the Polish actress Pola Negri (September 28, 1932) will be long remembered, as will the visit of Joseph Fisch, commercial attache of the Polish Consul General, who addressed the Rochester Chamber of Commerce in October. Mr. Fisch, it should be noted, came to the city at the invitation of Adam Felerski, acting upon the suggestion of the Committee.

The Centrala Charity Ball of 1933 (January 28) is notable as being the first of these affairs to result in substantial profit. The Charity Ball venture had been attempted with indifferent success on several previous occasions but in this year under the capable chairmanship of Walter Wojtczak the net receipts exceeded six hundred dollars. By now this social event has become an established institution and invariably is attended with financial success. The 1934 Ball was distinguished by an address from Mayor Charles Stanton. The auditorium of the new

St. Stanislaus school is ordinarily used for these dances.

An interesting experiment was undertaken by Centrala during this year when the committee sponsored the showing of a moving picture, "Unknown Heroes" at the Little Theatre in East Avenue. This was the first time a full length film made in Poland had ever been presented at a downtown Rochester theater. The play continued from February 8 to February 17, and was largely attended by the Polish and other interested groups.

In 1933, with the election to the chairmanship of Edmund F. Lorentz, the Committee began to enjoy a firmer establishment. Lorentz, who had come to the city in 1919, had acquired considerable experience in the field of organization prior to his coming and his association with the city at large through his professional connection with the courts and city government made him of unique service to the Committee at this time. He has since acted as chairman of Centrala and during his incumbency, that body has adopted bylaws, introduced the device of active subcommittee organization and has enjoyed a degree of citywide publicity conducive to successful, permanent existence.

Important among new subcommittees are the Political Activities Committee, headed by Joseph R. Paprocki, Polish attorney, the Publicity Committee, of which Lorentz is leader, and the Organization Promotion Committee, led by Joseph J. Zieliński. The work of these groups has materially aided in inspiring coordinated action of a practical sort.

PRESENT DIRECTORS OF POLONIA CIVIC CENTRE (CENTRALA). STANDING, left to right: Stanley Kaczmarek, Stanley Dziubal, Walter Helminski, Stanislaw Orzechowski, Joseph Zielinski, Joseph Paprocki. SEATED, left to right: Mrs. Marie Sokolska, Stanley K. Kowalski, Walter Nowakowski, John T. Skalny, Executive Secretary, Edmund F. Lorentz, President, Theodore Jablonski, Vice-President, John Racinowski, Treasurer, Miss Sophie Cwalina, Secretary.

Present officers of Centrala are, Edmund F. Lorentz, Chairman, Theodore Jablonski, Vice-Chairman, John T. Skalny, Sophia Cwalina and Walter Nowakowski, Secretaries, John Racinowski, Treasurer, and Stanislaus Dziubal, Marshal. Thirty-eight societies are affiliated with the Committee and regularly elect delegates to it. Of late the official English name "Polonia Civic Centre" has been adopted.

Progress of a practical character, especially in the field of education, has been made in the community during the past few years. Shortly following his assumption of the St. Stanislaus pastorate (January 2, 1926), Rev. Stanislaus J. Szupa initiated in the parish a movement looking toward the new parochial school, which became a reality in the spring of 1931. This structure, which adjoins its predecessor, is large, modern and attractive. Recreation facilities are extensive and the building, chiefly perhaps because of the size of its auditorium, is often used for large social affairs by various neighborhood societies.

The erection of Benjamin Franklin High School in 1930, to date the largest institution of its kind in Rochester, has provided a convenient opportunity for the community to support the cause of higher secondary education and a large part of the student body is of Polish origin. The school survey of racial backgrounds conducted in 1933 places this proportion officially at sixteen percent, although the presence of substantial groups listed under closely allied Slavic heads leads to the conclusion

that the Polish section is of greater extent than the figures seen to indicate. [48].

In a sense, the mutual interest which has recently developed between Rochester at large and the local Polish contingent has produced in the community an interesting cultural nationalism, characterized by a strong exhibitionist impulse in the field of art and personal accomplishment, as events of the past two years will show. It cannot yet be said that the purely Polish character of group participation has disappeared, nor would such a course be presently desirable, since in this community adherence to Slavic identity, the city is discovering much of value which otherwise must have been overlooked.

From the presence of a cohesive Polish citizenry, Rochester derives her opportunity, for example, to receive such visitors as General Josef Haller, who for the second time was entertained by the city May 11 and 12, 1934. General Haller's visit to America at that time was in behalf of the veterans of his own army, who were then engaged in an attempt to set up an insurance or compensation fund designed to assist disabled and indigent members. The General was widely feted during his stay here, notably by Mr. Frank E. Gannett, local publisher. High Mass was celebrated at St. Stanislaus by Archbishop Edward J. Mooney, the service being attended by Haller and the staff which composed his entourage.

At the insistent invitation of the Polish group, Rochester was further honored by Andrew Bohomolec and George Swiechowski, the famous Polish mariners who crossed the Atlantic in a twenty-seven foot sailboat

(48) Russian, Austrian, Ukrainian are some of the classifications referred to, in which Poles undoubtedly are to be found, particularly since persons falling within these designations are located in the heart of a predominantly Polish section.

to attend the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. On July 12, 1934 these men were entertained by the Rochester Yacht Club and for the Poles by Centrala.

The Rochester Centennial celebration of 1934 aroused high interest among local Poles, who organized one of the most effective of the exhibits in the much heralded hobby show at Edgerton Park. Various unusual handicraft was displayed, of which the artistic and painstaking cabinet work of Joseph Konieczny proved the most conspicuous. On August 19 and again on August 25, Polish programs were featured at the Centennial. Important participants in these programs were the Echo Musical Society, Moniuszko Singing Circle, the St. Cecelia Choir, a musical group recently organized in the St. Theresa parish, the Falcon band, also an ensemble of recent origin under the sponsorship of Frank Mularz, the Miss Polonias of 1933 and 1934, and a dance group assembled by Mrs. Walter Wojtczak, which offered several dances traditional to the aristocracy of old Poland, in elaborate costume. The latter group has met with gratifying success and has become a permanent institution, furnishing the community and the city with a novel and beautiful form of characteristic entertainment.

MRS. WALTER WOJTCZAK

The Polish Centennial program of August 19, 1934 was distinguished for the presentation to Rochester of an illuminated scroll, inscribed with the felicitations of the ancient city of Torun, in Poland, whose seven-hundredth anniversary coincided somewhat with Rochester's hundredth. This unique and significant gesture of friendship between two cities became an impressive highlight of the Centennial, and the scroll now hangs in the office of Mayor Charles Stanton, to the pride of the local Polish group and of Rochester.

Pulaski Day, 1934, saw the year's climax of public affairs involving Rochester Poles, when Dr. Rhees received the "Polonia Restituta" cross from Dr. Marchlewski, who addressed a radio audience in the evening. The radio program of that occasion was arranged entirely by the Polish people and brought into prominence several talented individuals and ensembles, not hitherto afforded an opportunity for public performance. Musical background was provided by a capable orchestra directed by Stanley Pietrzak, and a well conceived rendition of folk songs was given by an octette composed of Agnes Kozlowska, Mary Mrzywka, Theresa Lupkiewicz, Pauline Oszywa, Mary Kowalska, Lillian Zaleska, Cecelia Mularz and Marie Lorentz. Piano and violin selections were played by Virginia Kaczmarek and Janina Gorecka, respectively.

On the same day there was opened at the Memorial Art Gallery an exhibit of Polish art and handicraft. This display lasted twenty days and several Sunday programs were given at the gallery during this period, the last of

which combined the more striking features of both the Centennial and radio presentations.

Extensive and increasing activity, which now marks the Polish community of Rochester frequently gives rise to inquiries as to the actual number of Poles and immediate descendants of Poles permanently settled in the city at the present time. As a matter of fact, the establishment of this figure presents many difficulties and involves the application of more intensive study than any yet undertaken. The problem of identifying early Polish strains, considered in Part I, exists, with many ramifications, in the identification of present Polish strains. The alphabetical combinations of Polish spelling, so unfamiliar to any but those of Slavic origin, offer to the Pole a continuous temptation to mutilate or completely discard his surname. Successive generations bor in America invariably yield to this temptation, as their national homeland passes, for them, from the realm of memory into that of ancestral tradition. National divisions born of the partitions, which have been responsible for the acquisition of non-Polish names, still survive. From these and numerous other factors, it will be seen that a thoroughly accurate census of any Polish group requires a minute and painstaking investigation of family backgrounds, for which, locally, adequate facilities thus far have not been provided.

Reference to parish records of the Rochester Polish churches accounts for nearly seven thousand persons of Polish birth or extraction and an examination of the rolls of certain large secular societies, in which many non-churchgoers may be found indicates the presence of from

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Extensive and increasing activity, which now marks the Polish community of Rochester frequently gives rise to inquiries as to the actual number of Poles and immediate descendants of Poles permanently settled in the city at the present time. As a matter of fact, the establishment of this figure presents many difficulties and involves the application of more intensive study than any yet undertaken. The problem of identifying early Polish strains, considered in Part I, exists, with many ramifications, in the identification of present Polish strains. The alphabetical combinations of Polish spelling, so unfamiliar to any but those of Slavic origin, offer to the Pole a continuous temptation to mutilate or completely discard his surname. Successive generations bor in America invariably yield to this temptation, as their national homeland passes, for them, from the realm of memory into that of ancestral tradition. National divisions born of the partitions, which have been responsible for the acquisition of non-Polish names, still survive. From these and numerous other factors, it will be seen that a thoroughly accurate census of any Polish group requires a minute and painstaking investigation of family backgrounds, for which, locally, adequate facilities thus far have not been provided.

Reference to parish records of the Rochester Polish churches accounts for nearly seven thousand persons of Polish birth or extraction and an examination of the rolls of certain large secular societies, in which many non-churchgoers may be found indicates the presence of from

fifteen hundred to two thousand more. Conservatively estimating the number of persons, whose national derivation it is impossible to determine, but who reside for the most part in the vicinity of the Polish group, it may fairly be asserted that the total for the northeast quarter of the city belongs near the ten thousand mark. This, however, does not embrace scattered neighborhoods in other quarters of Rochester, the investigation of which has not been attempted.

As a study in group assimilation, the local Polish community offers both that which is typical and that which is individual. Those characteristics which it possesses in common, no doubt, with Polish units generally in this country are, of course, its racial and geographic background, its nationalism and its inevitable association with nation—and worldwide Polish movements. Mainly, however, its value as such a study lies in the fact that its comparatively small size numerically has preserved a strong cohesion, and has retained as integral parts of the whole certain elements that, in a larger group, would have disappeared in an uncontrollable process of absorption. In fact, a consideration of the manner in which this mutual interchange, not only of benefits but of responsibilities, has taken place between the local community and the city of Rochester, may permit a distinction of definition between the term absorption, as a social merger in which the racial and national identity of the minority is lost, and assimilation, in which a share of that identity is retained—conferred, as it were, in the form of a cultural contribution, upon the predominating majority.

Our local Polish group is now as much a part of Rochester as Rochester is a part of it. Its civic and social

problems are those of Rochester, and its active concern in similar problems proceeding from other quarters is taken for granted. That the city has derived much of value from the presence of a Polish strain cannot be denied. Finally, it may be said that the process of social integration exemplified by the developments herein discussed owes its essential success to the peculiar advantages of the American city, as a kind of matrix, ideally adapted to the unhampered progress of these developments.

The End

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